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*Costume
Index*

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THOMAS NELOND, 1433, COWFOLD

In monk's cloak and hood. He was the 26th prior of the Cluniac Abbey of S. Pancras, at Lewes. This is one of the most beautiful of English brasses.

Ancient Memorial Brasses

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book is written in order to stimulate interest in ancient memorial brasses amongst those unfamiliar with the subject. In its compilation, the author has derived much assistance from the late Rev. H. Haines's excellent *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, now out of print and very scarce; from the Rev. H. W. Macklin's works, *The Brasses of England*, and *Monumental Brasses*, also from Mr. H. Druitt's *Costume on Brasses*, and Mr. E. R. Suffling's *English Church Brasses*; together with articles which have appeared from time to time in various magazines.

The scope of this work does not permit of any reference to Memorial Brasses affixed to the walls of our churches during the past century. The metal of which these are composed is usually extremely thin, and the engraving is very shallow; the wax-filling has therefore in some cases already disappeared, thus rendering the inscription illegible.

It is proposed to study only the quaint dark metal plates which are generally to be found on the floors of so many parish churches, as by so doing it is possible to derive much information of local and national interest.

EDWARD T. BEAUMONT.

OXFORD, 1913.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
NOTES	
A. HOW TO TAKE RUBBINGS.	xv
B. HOW TO CLASSIFY AND PRESERVE RUBBINGS	xvi
CHAPTER I. BRASSES—HISTORIAL	
II. KNIGHTS	ii
III. CIVILIANS	41
IV. DAMES	59
V. ECCLESIASTICS	78
VI. MISCELLANEOUS BRASSES	120
VII. EMBLEMS ON BRASSES	151
VIII. INSCRIPTIONS ON BRASSES	165
IX. HERALDRY ILLUSTRATED BY BRASSES	177
X. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES ON BRASSES	185
CONCLUSION	188
INDEX	189

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

KNIGHTS

	PAGE
I. The Surcoat Period, 1277. Sir John d'Aubernoun, Stoke Dabernon. In complete suit of chain mail	13
II. The Surcoat Period. Sir Roger de Trumington, 1289, Trumington, with legs crossed; showing the ailettes, banded mail, and concave, heater-shaped shield	17
III. The Cyclas Period. Sir John d'Aubernoun, Junior, 1327, Stoke Dabernon. In banded mail, plate armour, and steel bascinet	17
IV. The Camail Period. Reginald de Malyns, 1380, Chinnor, and one of his two wives, showing the leather jupon. His wife wears the zigzag head-dress	20
V. The Camail Period. Transitional, without Jupon. John Hanley and wives, 1403, S. Saviour's, Dartmouth, showing the skirt of taces and the steel cuirass. The ladies wear the reticulated head-dress and the sideless cote-hardi	21
VI. The Complete Plate or Lancastrian Period. Sir Symon Ffelbrygge, K.G., 1416, Felbrigg, showing the gorget, and the Garter round the knee. His wife wears the crespine head-dress, and kirtle and mantle	24
VII. The Complete Plate Period. Transitional. Sir John Coke, c. 1490, Goring, Sussex, showing the pauldrons, tuilles, and skirt of taces divided perpendicularly. The lady wears the pedimental head-dress	25
VIII. The Complete Plate Period. Sir John Drayton, 1417, Dorchester, Oxon., with the S.S. collar	28

	PAGE
IX. The Yorkist Period. Sir William Prelatte and wife, 1462, Cirencester, with visor open and collar of mail. His wife wears the mitre head-dress, and a short-waisted gown	29
X. The Yorkist Period. Sir Anthony Grey, 1480, S. Albans, showing the collar of sun and roses	31
XI. The Mail Skirt or Early Tudor Period. William, seventh Baron and second Viscount Beaumont, 1507, Wyvenhoe. This is probably the finest military brass of this period	35
XII. The Mail Skirt Period. Transitional. Humfrie Cheynie, 1557, West Hanney. He is depicted in lamboys over the skirt of mail	35
XIII. The Tasset or Elizabethan Period. Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham, 1609, Ilminster, the founders of Wadham College, Oxford. The lady wears the Paris head-dress and farthingale	37
XIV. Jacobean. John Arundel, Junior, and wife, 1633, S. Columb Major, in jack-boots; the lady wears the calash head-dress and Elizabethan ruff	38
XV. The Latest Brass to a Knight. Nicholas Toke, 1680, Great Chart. He is depicted in tasset armour, holding a book in his hand, and kneeling on a cushion. His three daughters, also kneeling, wear low-necked dresses, with short puffed sleeves, and they hold in their hands respectively a rose, laurel, and palm, and a book in the left hand	39

CIVILIANS

XVI. Fourteenth Century. Nichole de Aumberdene, c. 1350, Taplow; the earliest brass to the memory of a tradesman	42
XVII. Fourteenth Century. Names unknown, Shottesbrooke, 1370. A Frankelin, or gentleman farmer, with a priest wearing amice, alb, stole, maniple, and chasuble	43
XVIII. Fourteenth Century. Name unknown, c. 1400, S. Helen's, Ore, Sussex, showing the lady wearing the nébulé head-dress	46

- XIX. **Fifteenth Century.** Name unknown, *c.* 1440, Shoreham, showing the bag sleeve worn by both sexes, and the lady in the early form of the horned head-dress 47
- XX. **Fifteenth Century.** Rychard Manfeld, brother in shroud, and sister with long flowing hair, 1455, Taplow 49
- XXI. **Fifteenth Century.** Name unknown, *c.* 1500, Chinnor, Oxon.; probably the smallest brass showing the figure of an individual 50
- XXII. **Fifteenth Century.** Geoffrey Dormer and wives, 1502, Thame, showing the gypcière and civilian costume as worn at the end of the fifteenth century. The ladies wear the pedimental head-dress and long broad belts 51
- XXIII. **Sixteenth Century.** Thomas Noke, 1567, Shottesbrooke, Yeoman of the Crown, showing the badge on the left breast, with the royal crown and Tudor rose engraved thereon. He wears a fur-trimmed gown, with long lappet sleeves, stockings and low shoes 53
- XXIV. **Sixteenth Century.** Richard Manning, 1604, S. Mary Cray, wearing the doublet and gown over, with lappet sleeves and ruff at neck; his wife is shown in the calash head-dress, ruff, partlet and rich broché panel skirt 54
- XXV. **Seventeenth Century.** John Barley, 1601, Hastings, showing the doublet, cloak, and trunk hose 56
- XXVI. **Seventeenth Century.** George Coles and wives, 1640, S. Sepulchre's, Northampton, showing the doublet, short cloak, turn-down collar and knee-breeches. The ladies wear felt hats, large ruffs, heart-shaped stomachers, and plain bodices and skirts 57
- XXVII. **Eighteenth Century.** Benjamin and Philadelphia Greenwood, 1747, S. Mary Cray. The latest brass to the memory of a civilian and lady. The gentleman is depicted in wig, open

coat, long waistcoat, knee-breeches and shoes. The lady wears the veil head-dress, low bodice, tight sleeves and broché damask skirt . . .	58
--	----

DAMES

XXVIII. The Earliest Brass to the memory of a Lady. Margarete de Camoys, c. 1310, Trotton, showing the veil head-dress, wimple and loose gown powdered with her coat of arms	61
XXIX. Horned. Elizabeth de Camoys, 1419, Trotton, in horned head-dress, S.S. collar, sideless cote- hardi and mantle. The upper part only of this brass is shown	65
XXX. Butterfly. Sir Thomas Urswyk, wife and daughters, 1479, Dagenham. In Judge's costume consisting of cassock and gown, but without coif. The lady wears the butterfly head-dress, tight- fitting gown, with mantle over; the eldest daughter is robed in nun's costume, the next two wear the butterfly, and the others, a curious conical head-dress, similar to that now worn by peasants in Normandy	68
XXXI. Paris head-dress. One of the wives of Francis Wellesbourne, 1602, West Hanney, Berks. In Paris head-dress, ruff, flounced bodice, partlet, pointed stomacher, embroidered panel in skirt, and farthingale	73
XXXII. The Calash head-dress. Ann Kenwell- Mersh, 1633, Henfield, showing the calash head-dress, ruff, plain bodice, full skirt and mantle over, also a feather fan in the left hand; her son wears the picturesque costume made familiar by the paintings of Van Dyck	75
XXXIII. The Puritan Bonnet. Agnes and Jane Hopper, 1625, S. Cross, Oxford. Agnes is depicted in widow's veil and barbe and Jane in a Puritan bonnet, tight-fitting bodice with sleeves puffed on the shoulders, turn-back cuffs, and full skirt . .	77

ECCLESIASTICS

XXXIV. The Earliest Brass to an Ecclesiastic.	
Richard de Hakebourne, 1310. Merton College, Oxford, showing the amice and alb	79
XXXV. Priest in Alb. Thomas Clerke, 1411, Horsham, in amice, alb, and stole, with initials on the orphreys of the cope.	83
XXXVI. Priest in chausuble. Richard Kegett, 1485, Ringstead, showing the loose amice and tight-fitting chasuble.	85
XXXVII. Priest in cassock, c. 1480, Cirencester, a very simple but beautiful brass	88
XXXVIII. Priest in Almuce. Richard Harward, 1493, S. Cross, Winchester, showing surplice, almuce, and D.D. cap	88
XXXIX. Dean. John Prophete, 1416, Ringwood, in almuce and cope, the orphreys of which are ornamented with figures of saints	91
XL. Archbishop. Thomas Cranley, 1417, New College, Oxford, in mitre, amice, alb, stole, maniple, tunicle, dalmatic, and chasuble	93
XLI. Bishop. John Yong, 1526, New College, Oxford, in tunicle, dalmatic, and chasuble, also pastoral staff with vexillum attached and rings on every finger	95
XLII. Bishop. Edmund Geste, 1578, Salisbury, showing the rochet, chimere, and scarf	99
XLIII. Archbishop. Samuel Harsnett, 1631, Chigwell, in cope embroidered all over	101
XLIV. Canon. Arthur Cole, 1558, Magdalen College, Oxford, in cassock, surplice, almuce, and mantle of the Order of the Garter	102
XLV. Post-Reformation Ecclesiastic. John Wythines, D.D., 1615, Dean of Battle. In cassock, gown with long lappet sleeves, ruffs, and scarf	104
XLVI. Academic. Simon Marcheford, 1442, Harrow, in cassock, tippet, and hood	105
XLVII. Academic. Broxbourne, c. 1510. Gown with bell sleeves trimmed fur, cassock, tippet, and hood.	107

	PAGE
XLVIII. Academic. Thomas Hylle, D.D., 1468, New College, Oxford, showing cassock, D.D. gown, tippet, and skull-cap	108
XLIX. Academic. John Bloxham, 1387, Merton College Oxford, a bracket brass. In B.D. gown, tippet, and hood	109
L. Academic. David Lloyd, LL.B., 1510, All Souls, Oxford, in gown, with deep pointed sleeve, tippet, and hood; and Thomas Baker, student of Civil Law, in cassock, cloak, and hood	110
L.I. Academic: Post-Reformation. Antoine Aylworth, 1619, New College, Oxford, in doublet, gown, hood, ruff, and college cap.	112

MONASTIC

LII. Abbot. Thomas de la Mare, c. 1360, S. Albans, in alb, amice, mitre, and chasuble, also pastoral staff, and highly ornamented slippers	114
LIII. Abbot. Sir Richard Bewfforeste, 1510, Dorchester, Oxon., in surplice, cassock, almuce, hood, monk's cloak, and pastoral staff.	115
LIV. Prior. Thomas Nelond, 1433, Cowfold, in monk's cloak and hood; the architectural details are a beautiful specimen of work of this period <i>Frontispiece</i>	
LV. Monk. Robert Beauner, c. 1470, S. Albans Abbey, in cassock, cowl, hood, and gown of the Benedictine Order	117
LVI. Abbess. Elizabeth Hervy, c. 1530, Elstow, in veil head-dress, barbe, kirtle and mantle, with pastoral staff	119

MISCELLANEOUS

LVII. Royal. King Ethelred, c. 1440, Wimbourne, showing the ermine tippet, tunic, mantle, and a portion of the sceptre	120
LVIII. Judge. John Cottesmore, 1439, Baldwyn Brightwell, in coif, gown, mantle, and hood	122
LIX. Sergeant-at-Law. John Rede, 1404, Checkendon, in fur-lined robe, cassock, and hood	123

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xiii

	PAGE
LX. Notary. c. 1510, New College, Oxford, in cassock, long robe with large bell sleeves, and ink-horn and penner	124
LXI. Knight of the Garter. Sir Thomas Bullen, 1538, Hever, showing the full regalia of the Order	127
LXII. Yeoman of the Crown. John Borrell, 1531, Broxbourne. In the armour of the Tasset period, bearing a mace surmounted with the royal crown	130
LXIII. Civic—Mayor's Robes. Alderman Ralph Flexney and wife, 1578, S. Michael's, Oxford. In present-day aldermanic gown, with stole of office. Only the Lord Mayor of London and the Mayor of Oxford are entitled to wear the velvet stole. His wife wears the Paris head-dress, with ruffs at neck and wrists	131
LXIV. Child. William Glynne, 1633, Clynnog, a child aged two years, in handsome robe	135
LXV. Shroud Brass. John Goodryngton, 1518, Appleton; the inscription refers to his wife as becoming a vowess and entering the monastery of Syon, now the seat of the Duke of Northumberland	137
LXVI. Chrysom. Elyn. daughter of Sir Edmund and Lady Jane Bray, 1516, Stoke Dabernon	139
LXVII. Palimpsest Inscription. S. Mary Magdalen, Oxford. Flemish inscription, c. 1500, English, 1574	142, 143
LXVIII. Palimpsest. Sir Walter and Lady Curson, 1527, Waterperry, showing the armour of the complete plate period, c. 1440, adapted to the mail-skirt period. The lady's costume has in like manner been changed to the pedimental period.	145

EMBLEMS

LXIX. Cross Brass. John Corby, 1415, Broadwater. A fine specimen of this class of memorial	153
LXX. The Adoration. Cobham, Surrey, c. 1500. The Holy Mother and Child are depicted reposing on a bed; S. Joseph stands at the head and three shepherds kneel at the foot of the bedstead	154

	PAGE
LXXI. Saint. William and Annes Complyn, 1498, Week; S. Christopher is carrying the infant Saviour across a stream	159
LXXII. Heart Brass. John Merstun, 1446, Lillingstone Lovell; a bleeding heart inscribed with the sacred initials, upheld by hands issuing from clouds.	162
LXXIII. Heart Brass. Elizabeth Furlong, 1641, Stoke-in-Teignhead, with a French inscription	163
LXXIV. The Soul. Walter Beauchamp, c. 1430, Checkendon. Angels vested in amice and alb, are carrying the soul of the departed to heaven .	164
LXXV. Inscriptions. Shakespeare's, placed in the Church of Holy Trinity, Stratford-on-Avon, in 1624, eight years after his death. The centre inscription covers his vault, and the lower one is under his bust on the north wall of the chancel .	175
LXXVI. Tabard. Sir Richard Fitzlewes and wife, Ingrave, 1528, showing the tabard worn over armour, and lady in heraldic mantle with pedimental head-dress	179
LXXVII. Heraldic mantle. Viscountess Beaumont and Countess of Oxford. 1537, Wyvenhoe, Essex. Wearing a coronet, mantle embroidered with her own family arms (Scroope), kirtle with tight sleeves and frill round the wrists, ermine sideless cote-hardi, handsome chain round the neck, with pendent cross said to have been made from a portion of the Holy Cross	180
LXXVIII. Lady in Tabard. Dame Elizabeth Gorynge, 1558, Burton, Sussex, in Paris head-dress, her own arms and those of her husband are quartered on the Tabard	181

NOTES

A. HOW TO TAKE RUBBINGS

Articles needed. A duster, nail-brush, roll of white ceiling paper (about 8*d.* per piece), not too thin or it will easily tear, nor too thick or it will be difficult to get a good impression, pencil, flannel rubber, and heel-ball (Ullathorne's twopenny sticks, obtainable from a leather merchant, are the best for the purpose).

How to proceed. First dust the plate, using the nail-brush to clean out the incised lines. Let the paper be sufficiently long to overlap the plate about eighteen inches at the top and bottom; place some hassocks, books, or anything heavy, on the ends in order to prevent it from slipping out of position; then carefully trace with a pencil the outline of the figure, which can be felt through the paper; if in any doubt roll the paper up from one end, taking care that it does not slip out of place. Rub the heel-ball on the paper until the impression is as black as the heel-ball itself. If the brass is large, the work is hard and tiring, and some beginners are content to leave off as soon as they have a slight impression; but the result is so much more effective if thoroughly done that it is well worth the extra time and labour. Finish off by rubbing the impression with the flannel, which will

give it a polished appearance. Be careful, however, that the flannel is clean or it will smear.

B. HOW TO CLASSIFY AND PRESERVE RUBBINGS

Do not take a rubbing of every brass but make a careful selection, so that your collection may represent armour, costume, and vestments of the various periods.

Each rubbing, after having the name of the individual commemorated and the church from which it is taken written underneath, should be mounted on white calico cut to the width of the paper. The calico should first be damped and stretched tightly; then paste on the rubbing, let it thoroughly dry, afterwards mount it on muslin rods, top and bottom. These can be procured from an upholsterer for a penny. The rubbings can then be hung on a wall or kept rolled. Large rubbings should be mounted by a picture dealer, as calico of sheeting width is needed and stouter rollers should be used.

Small rubbings are very effective if cut to the outline, mounted on gold Japanese paper and framed, or used as panels for draught-screens, or fire-stove ornaments.

The rubbings should be numbered consecutively and a card index kept in which the history of the person commemorated and every detail respecting the brass entered, including the date the rubbing was made.

CHAPTER I

BRASSES—HISTORIAL

THE earliest record of the manufacture of brass in this country is a patent granted in 1565 by Queen Elizabeth to William Humprey, to make latten plates. These were composed of about 60 per cent. of copper, 30 per cent. of zinc, and 5 per cent. each of lead and tin. In 1584 John Brode secured premises at Isleworth, and mills were also erected about this time in Somerset for the same purpose. Previously the metal had been imported from Germany, and was known as 'Cullen plate', from Cologne, where it was first made in the thirteenth century. Its extreme hardness is evinced by the fact that many of these plates have withstood, almost unharmed, the rough usage and the wear and tear of succeeding generations from the days of the Crusades onwards. Shakespeare refers to this quality,

—upon the which, I trust,

Shall witness live in brass, (*Henry V*)

and

Men's evil manners live in brass; their virtues

We write in water. (*Henry VIII*).

The latter quotation, however, is not always true, for the record of many a noble deed, done in days of old, still lives graven in this metal.

The Art of Engraving

The art of engraving these plates, like that of Architecture, reached its highest level in the fourteenth century. The glory of our cathedrals and churches erected at that period is an abiding witness to the piety and love and skill of their founders. The beautiful and flowing lines which characterize their work had their counterpart in the graceful draperies, the handsome canopies, and other features usually found in these and other architectural memorials erected at that time.

In the fifteenth century, plates were not only made thinner, but also smaller, and shading and coarse lines were introduced. Towards the end of the century identical designs were produced in quantities, needing only the inscription for completion. At the Renaissance, under the Italian influence which was then so pronounced, the character of designs rapidly degenerated. By the eighteenth century the art had become debased, lines being merely etched on the plate. A characteristic example of this class of work, and the last of its kind, may be found at S. Mary Cray, Kent (see p. 58). It perpetuates the memories of Philadelphia and Benjamin Greenwood, who died in 1747 and 1773. From this date the art died out, after having

provided remunerative employment for designers and engravers for five hundred years.

Where they are found

Memorial Brasses are more numerous in England than elsewhere. It is estimated that there are about 4,000 scattered over the country, and the matrices (the hollow cut in the stone to receive the plate, so that it should not project above the floor level) of a similar number are still in existence. They are found chiefly in those districts where stone was scarce: i. e. in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Middlesex, Kent, and Surrey; also in Oxford, Cambridge, Norwich, and Bristol. They are rarer in the North and West.

London would have been a veritable brass rubber's 'Mecca' if the churches of All Hallows, Barking, and S. Helen's, Bishopsgate, afford any indication of the number of brasses that existed in the eighty-nine churches destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666.

Wales has about twenty, including one at Usk bearing a Welsh inscription, c. 1400. Those at Llanrwst,¹ Beaumaris, Swansea, Ruthin, and Clynnog (Carnarvonshire, see p. 135) are the most important.

Scotland has only three of these memorials, viz. in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, whilst four mural plates in S. Patrick's Cathedral, and one in Christ Church, Dublin, solely represent Irish brasses. The Isle of Man has one example.

¹ See *Haines's Manual*, p. 243.

Only a few are found in France, as those which escaped the Reformation were destroyed at the Revolution. There are about seventy in Belgium, and from eighty to a hundred in Germany. In all, there are about 250 on the Continent ; fine examples exist at Aix-la-Chapelle, Bruges, Constance, and Seville.

Their date

The earliest brass in England of which there is any record unfortunately no longer exists. It was to the memory of Simon de Beauchamp, Earl of Bedford, who died *c.* 1208. Leland, the sixteenth-century antiquary, says, ' He lyith afore the highe altare of S. Paules Church in Bedeford with this epitaphie graven in brass set on a flat marble stone : " De bello campo jacet hic sub marmore Simon, fundator de Neweham." ' ' From the battle-field, under this marble lies Simon, founder of Neweham ' (a priory near Bedford).

The oldest brass now in existence is that of Sir John d'Aubernoun, 1277, at Stoke Dabernon, Surrey (see p. 13). Trumpington, Cambridge, has another only twelve years later ; whilst probably the oldest brass to the memory of a woman is that of Margarete de Camoys, 1310, Trotton, Sussex (see p. 61). In the Port de Hal Museum, Brussels, there is an incised slab almost identical with this brass.

The majority of brasses now remaining date from the sixteenth century ; fifteenth and seventeenth

century examples are together about equal in number to those of the sixteenth.

How to determine their date

It is unsafe to judge the age of a brass from the inscription alone; the style of costume, mode of engraving, and weight of metal must all be taken into consideration, whilst the mode of dressing the hair affords the best indication of the date of memorials to priests. In the fourteenth century it was worn wavy and full over the ears, and the lines were delicately drawn (see p. 79). At the beginning of the fifteenth century it was short and rolled back from the forehead (see p. 85); whilst in Yorkist and Tudor days it was long and straight, almost reaching the shoulders, and the engraving was coarse (see p. 88). Brasses were often laid down before the death of the person whose memory they perpetuate. Examples of this feature are found at Thame, Oxon., and Lambourn, Berks. This is especially noticeable in the case of shroud brasses, which were generally engraved and fixed during the lifetime of the person commemorated, the object being to remind him of his final bourne; in these cases blank spaces were usually left for the insertion of the date of death, but in many instances this has never been added.

Occasionally, owing to various reasons, brasses were not laid down until some years after the death

of the individual commemorated. At Lambourn, John Estbury died in 1372. His brass, however, was not engraved until *c.* 1410; at Cirencester, Gloucestershire, there is another example, *c.* 1427, engraved *c.* 1470. The Wars of the Roses and the consequent disorganization of the country may in some measure account for this unusual practice.

Their size

In size, as well as in excellence of workmanship, brasses vary greatly. One of the smallest, at Chinnor, Oxon., *c.* 1520, measures $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches long by $1\frac{3}{4}$ wide; it represents a full-length figure of a civilian (see p. 50). Among the largest is the fine Flemish brass at S. Albans, commemorating Abbot Thomas de la Mare, *c.* 1390, $9' 3'' \times 4' 4''$. This is exceeded by the magnificent masterpiece at Cowfold, Sussex (see frontispiece), to the memory of Prior Nelond, the figure being $6' 0''$, whilst the flanking shafts and flying buttresses, with the handsome triple pedimented canopies, make the entire composition $10' 3'' \times 4' 3''$.

A brass of even larger dimensions, formerly in Durham Cathedral, commemorated Louis de Beaumont, Bishop 1318-33. He was a cousin of Queen Isabella, consort of Edward II. It measured no less than $15' 0'' \times 10' 0''$, and was similar in character to that of Prior Nelond, with the exception of the double shafts, which were much wider and supported niches enriched with figures of

saints. This memorial was probably defaced at the Reformation, when so much valuable work was ruthlessly disfigured or destroyed. Wood states that Dean Whittingham (1563-79) 'defaced all such stones as had any pictures of brass or other imagery or statutes (*sic*) wrought upon them, and the residue he took away and employed them to his own use, and did make a washing house of them'. By a curious coincidence, Whittingham's tomb in the Cathedral was destroyed by the Scottish Army in 1640. This Dean is famous as being the translator of the 'Breeches' Bible.

Method of fixing

The Purbeck marble was first cut to the shape of the figure and accessories, deep enough to allow the plates to lie level with the floor. This hollow in the marble is known as the matrix. A sufficient number of holes to hold it firmly were drilled through the plate, and corresponding ones were made in the marble slab, the latter being undercut. Brass pins, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, were then hammered into the holes in the marble; this forced the pin into the part of the hole which had been undercut, and so formed a flange at the bottom end of the pin, which held it in position and prevented its being drawn out again. The pins were also secured by pouring molten lead round them. Pitch was placed over the matrix and the plate pressed firmly down. The pins, which

were sufficiently long to project above the brass, were then hammered to the level of the plate, the heads spreading and forming another flange which held it in position. When thus fastened considerable force was required to remove it.

What may be learnt from them

Brasses reveal much of the past history of our country, the religious feelings which animated our ancestors, their modes of thought, and the costumes which they wore.

Abbots, bishops, and priests in their vestments, judges and graduates in their robes, knights in their armour, civilians and noble dames in every change of costume, are all faithfully portrayed. At S. Mary's, Lambeth, the troublous times of the Reformation are recalled by an inscription to the memory of Bishop Tunstall of London, who was alternately ejected and restored to his office under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. The brass at Trumpington represents a gallant knight arrayed in a complete suit of chain mail, copied from that which he wore when he sailed to the near East, inspired with religious fervour and determination to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the grasp of the then hated infidel, and thus solve the Eastern question of his day.

At Chinnor rests another knight, depicted in a suit of chain and plate such as was donned on the epoch-making field of Crécy.

At Thame we find a knight all glorious in the extravagances of the armour of the 'Yorkist' period, slain perhaps by his friend and neighbour, in the unhappy Wars of the Roses.

Elsewhere may be seen the richly arrayed cavalier, filled with devotion to his king, who was laid low by the terrible onslaught of the invincible Ironsides.

The great problem which to-day confronts the builders of our navy had its counterpart in mediæval days. For four hundred years continuous efforts had successfully been made to render armour proof against the improvements in weapons of attack, and it was only when gunpowder came into general use that armour was gradually abandoned.

The difference between English and Foreign work

English brasses were nearly always cut to the shape of the figure, and the accessories, such as canopies and shields, were fixed in separate matrices. Foreign brasses were always rectangular, and the surface of the plate unoccupied by figures was covered by diaper or fancy work which relieved the bareness of the background.

A few French and Flemish brasses are found in England, two of the finest Flemish ones being at King's Lynn. Those of Sir John de Northwode, *c.* 1330, at Minster, Isle of Sheppey, and John de Gravenhurst, *c.* 1340, at Horsmonden, Kent, are generally supposed to be of French origin.

The shield of the former is attached to the hip—as was customary on French brasses at that date—instead of to the arm, as in English examples; the lines, too, are more free than those of British origin.

After the middle of the sixteenth century, oblong plates of English manufacture are found, the background being plain, or showing some architectural detail, such as the interior of a room, or the exterior of a church. The earliest of these commemorates Sir Thomas Sellynger, 1475, S. George's Chapel, Windsor.

CHAPTER II

KNIGHTS

MEMORIALS in brass commemorating Knights are found in the varied styles of armour worn from the days of the Norman Conquest to those of the courtly cavaliers, when the use of gunpowder gave the death-blow to body armour of all kinds.

The evolution of plate armour was gradual, and between each distinct change there was a period during which the earlier overlapped the later. The Rev. H. W. Macklin, M.A., in his book on *Monumental Brasses*, divides these various styles into seven distinct classes as follows :

- I. The Surcoat.
- II. The Cyclas.
- III. The Camail.
- IV. The Complete Plate, or Lancastrian.
- V. The Yorkist.
- VI. The Mail Skirt, or Early Tudor.
- VII. The Tasset, or Elizabethan.

I. The Surcoat Period

The Surcoat period commenced in England with the Norman Conquest and ended at the death

of Edward I, 1307. Brasses at this date show the armour worn at the battle of Lewes, when Henry III was taken prisoner by Simon de Montfort. Interesting examples of the period are found at Stoke Dabernon, Surrey, 1277 (see p. 13); Trumpington, Cambridge, 1289 (see p. 17), whilst that of Sir Robert de Bures, Acton, Suffolk, 1302, is probably the finest military brass in existence.

Spenser refers to these knights 'in woven maile all armed warily'. They are depicted in complete suits of chain mail, without any plate armour. The knee-caps (*poleyns*) were generally, but not always, made of leather. With the exception of Sir John d'Aubernoun, they are all cross-legged; this is popularly supposed to indicate that they took part in the Crusades, but the only case in which there is clear proof of this is that of Sir Roger de Trumpington; some writers hold this feature to imply that the knight thus depicted was a benefactor to the church, and the fact that there are several stone monuments to ladies on which the figures are cross-legged (as at S. John's, Cashel, County Tipperary, and a child at Tenbury, Shropshire) seems to support this view.

The illustration on page 13 shows Sir John d'Aubernoun in his coat (*hauberke*) of interlaced chain mail; a thick leather jacket (*haubeton*) was worn underneath; a hood of mail (*coif de maille*) covers the head, and an ornamental strap (*guige*) passing over the right shoulder supported a 'heater'



SIR JOHN D'AUBERNOUN, 1277, STOKES DABERNON
In chain mail and surcoat. This is the only example
of a knight bearing a lance.

shaped shield, emblazoned with the bearer's arms, viz. a shield with a blue ground and a gold chevron (*azure, a chevron or*). Some of the original blue enamel used in the shield still remains: the ground-work however is copper, as brass would not bear the heat necessary for enamelling. The face of the copper was roughed, in order to form a bed for the enamel to adhere to. The sword is long and straight, double-edged, with a cross guard, and fastened to the body by a broad, heavy belt (*gunge*) to which the scabbard is attached in two different places connected with a short strap, thus throwing the sword across the left front of the body; this custom was peculiar to the period. Stockings (*chausses*) of mail cover the legs and feet. The spurs are the plain pryck pattern, buckling over the instep. The feet rest on a lion which holds the staff of the lance in its mouth; the lion is indicative of courage and generosity. This is the only example in England of a brass showing the lance and pennon; the latter is charged with the bearer's arms. The surcoat, made of some thin material, was a loose, sleeveless garment, which opened in front and fastened round the waist with a plaited cord. It had a short skirt edged with fringe, which reached to the knees. This coat is supposed to have been first adopted in the Holy Land, not only to distinguish friend from foe, but also to protect the wearer from the intense heat caused by the sun's rays shining on the armour. Shakespeare refers to

this inconvenience when he says: 'like a rich armour worn in heat of day that scalds with safety' (*Henry IV*).

The figure is not well proportioned, but it is a fine specimen of the engraver's art, and it must not be forgotten that it has withstood the ravages of more than six hundred years.

The Norman-French inscription, although lost, can still be deciphered, as each letter was set in a separate matrix. Lombardic characters, something like old English, were adopted; it reads: 'Sire: Johan: D'Aubernoun: chivaler: gist: icy: dev: de: sa: alme: cyt: mercy:' (Sir John d'Aubernoun, knight, lies here; may God have mercy on his soul).

The Trumpington brass (see p. 17) shows the earliest record of ailettes or little wings, which were used for about fifty years, up to the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. These were rectangular pieces of leather fastened to the back-plate and charged with the wearer's arms; they were fixed at right angles to the shoulders, and thus formed an additional protection to the neck. For purposes of display, ailettes were always shown on brasses as if worn parallel with the shoulders. The head rests on a helm which is secured by a chain attached to a handsome girdle. This was an uncommon feature of this early period. The shield is concave and heater shaped. The inscription has been lost: it was cut on a narrow fillet of brass which was sunk into marble, on each side of

the figure. It was found that letters placed in separate matrices soon became loose, and this is the earliest indication of an attempt to overcome this difficulty.

During the reign of Edward II, additional defences of plate armour were gradually added. Instances of these changes are found at Pebmarsh, Essex, and Gorleston, Suffolk, *c.* 1320. These led on to the next period.

II. The Cyclas Period

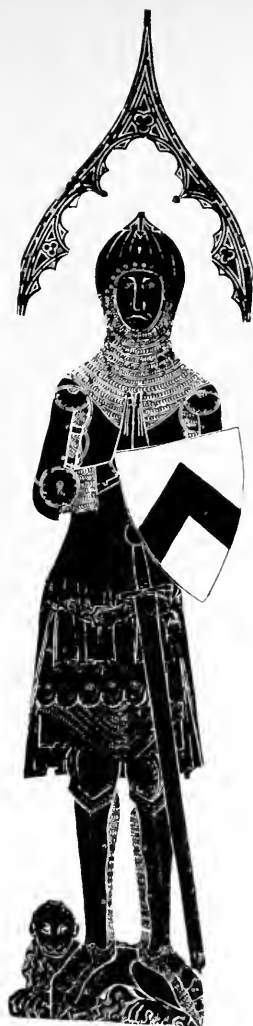
The Cyclas continued in use until after the battle of Crécy, 1346. The word is of Greek derivation (*κυκλᾶς*) and means a circular coat fitting close to the body. It was shorter in front than at the back and opened at the side; like the surcoat, it was generally made of some rich material.

There are only about four or five brasses of this period now in existence; the principal ones being at Westley Waterless, Cambs., 1325; Stoke Dabernon, 1327; and Minster, Kent, 1330. The brass of Sir John d'Aubernoun, Junior, 1327 (see p. 17) shows the great changes that were introduced in armour in the lifetimes of father and son. The hood of mail gave place to the helm (*bascinet*) of fluted steel. This weighed nine pounds, and its weight gradually increased until the seventeenth century, when it scaled about twelve pounds. It was always carried slung from the saddle, and was never worn except when entering battle.



SIR ROGER DE TRUMPINGTON,
1289, TRUMPINGTON

In banded mail, surcoat, and aillettes. He accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land. It is the only brass memorial to a Crusader.



SIR JOHN D'AUBERNOUN,
JUNR., 1327,
STOKE DABERNON

In banded mail, cyclas, and steel bascinet.

Round steel plates (*roundels*) were laced in front of the arm-pits and elbow-joints, and the arms were also encased in steel plates. Those protecting the forearm were called *avant-bras*, or *vambraces*, whilst those of the upper arms were called *arrière-bras*, or *verebraces*. The legs were similarly defended by plates known as *jambes*, and the upper part of the foot was guarded by overlapping plates (*sollerets*). Wheel spurs (*rowels*) superseded the pryck form of the previous period, although the illustration shows the old type. There was also a change in chain mail, which was found to be ineffective in arresting the thrust of the sword, lance, or arrow of the long-bow; instead of being linked together like a chain, as heretofore, the links were threaded on leather thongs which were then sewn to a leather foundation. This type of armour was known as banded mail. The sword was supported by a transverse ornamental belt. The chevron on the son's shield is somewhat different from that of his father, the latter being incorrectly drawn. The cyclas replaced the surcoat only a few years before this knight's death, so that he is depicted in the most up-to-date style of his day.

Towards the end of the period the visor was introduced (see pp. 29, 130). This was a perforated metal plate, attached to the helm and hinged, so as to rise and fall and form a protection for the face. The shield was occasionally omitted, but a short dagger (*misericorde*) was hung on the right side;

this was used for dispatching a vanquished foe. Transitional specimens are found at Elsing, Norfolk, 1347; Wimbish, Essex, 1347; Bowers Gifford Essex, 1348.

III. The Camail Period

About the time of the battle of Poitiers, 1356, the third period, known as the Camail, commenced. The camail was a curtain, or collar (*lippel*) of chain mail laced to the rim of the bascinet, protecting the neck and shoulders; it enabled the wearer to move his head much more freely than under the old system, in which the head was entirely covered with mail. This new feature, however, must have been very heavy, as the head practically supported the entire weight of bascinet and camail. It was in use until the beginning of Henry IV's reign. The bascinet was sharply pointed. A plain steel cuirass (see p. 21), with a skirt of five or six hoops (*taces*), covered the body and the upper part of the thighs, a mail shirt being worn underneath. This was only visible at the lower edge of the taces and at the arm-pits. The jupon (see p. 20) replaced the cyclas. This was a tight-fitting, sleeveless leather coat, worn over the armour, laced at the sides, of equal length back and front, and reaching to about midway between the hips and knees. It was frequently covered with velvet or silk, upon which the wearer's arms were embroidered. The lower edge of the skirt



REGINALD DE MALYNS AND ONE OF HIS WIVES, c. 1380, CHINNOR
 Showing the leather jupon and camail. The lady wears
 the zigzag head-dress.

was generally scalloped or fringed. The arm defences were entirely of steel, and were fitted with heart-shaped or circular hinges (*coutes*); epaulets (*épaulières*) protected the shoulders; these were made in three parts, which overlapped. Ailettes were no longer used; shields were much smaller, and leather or steel gauntlets were worn. A broader belt (*baudric*) was fastened round the hips, supporting the sword and misericorde.

The plate armour (*cuisse*s) protecting the thighs was fastened by metal studs; shoes (*sollerets*) were very pointed. Beards and moustaches were worn. The tilting helm with crest is sometimes depicted as a pillow for the head.

Good examples of this period are found at Aldborough, Yorks., 1360 (this is the latest brass of knight bearing a shield); Chinnor, Oxon., c. 1380 (see p. 20), and S. Saviour's, Dartmouth, 1403 (see p. 21).

The jupon, mail shirt, and stockings fell into disuse towards the end of this period, probably on account of their weight; an edging of mail round the bottom of the back and breast plates, and gussets of mail as a protection to the arm-pits, elbows, and ankles, were still used. There was a further change in chain armour, the rings being sewn on edgeways, instead of threaded as before. More ornament was introduced, the gauntlets, hilt, and scabbard being richly decorated. Examples of this transitional period are found at Wisbech, Cambs., 1401, and Great Tew, Oxon., 1410 (with the S.S. collar).

IV. The Complete Plate Period

The next great change introduces the 'Complete Plate' period. This style prevailed during the whole of the Lancastrian régime, 1400 to 1455.

With the occasional exception of a narrow edging below the bottom tace (see p. 24) mail armour was discarded. The sharp-pointed helm was replaced by one lower and rounder known as the *salade*. This was deeper at the back, and consequently afforded greater protection to the neck. One of the features of this period was the *orle*. This was a band, often ornamented with jewels, which encircled the head and relieved the pressure of the tilting helm.

The gorget (see p. 24) was introduced as an additional protection to the throat. It was fashioned like a steel collar, and the *salade* was shaped so as to rest on it, the shoulders thereby carrying some of the weight which had hitherto pressed upon the head. A cuirass of plate protected the body, and supported a skirt of taces; this was attached to a leather lining. The arm-pits, which were formerly covered by round plates (*roundels*), were now protected by oblong palettes, which were sometimes charged with S. George's cross. Coutes—a protection for the elbow joints—were heart-shaped and knee-caps were pointed. The jupon and broad belt were discarded, the sword was supported by a narrower belt worn diagonally,



SIR SYMON FFELEBRYGGE, K.G., AND WIFE, 1416, FELBRIGG

In complete plate armour, showing the gorget and garter. He bears the royal standard; he fought at Agincourt. The lady, who wears the crespine head-dress, mantle, and kirtle, was maid of honour to Queen Anne, consort of Richard II.



SIR JOHN COKE AND WIFE, c. 1490, GORING, SUSSEX

In transitional armour, with skirt of taces divided perpendicularly and small tuilles hanging therefrom. The lady wears the pedimental head-dress, also a handsome necklace and pendant.

and the misericorde was attached to the armour on the right side. Spurs were screwed into the heels; beards and moustaches went out of fashion.

The earliest example of this style is at Thruxton, Hants, 1407; others are found at Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1416; Trotton, Sussex, 1419; Ewelme, Oxon., 1434; Westminster Abbey, 1457. Rowel spurs are sometimes found 'guarded', i.e. the pricks are surrounded by a metal circle. This probably denotes that the wearer held some office at court. Instances are found at Ilminster, 1440, and Cirencester, Glos., 1462 (see p. 29).

The brass of John Poyle, Hampton Poyle, Oxon., 1424, is the earliest indication of a further change. Two small lappets, known as *tuilles* (see p. 25) from their resemblance to tiles, were fastened to the skirt of taces, and hung in front of the thighs; gloves are shown without fingers, and cuffs were finished off to a point.

About 1425 large metal plates (*pauldrons*) protect the shoulders; these were fastened in front of the left arm-pit and elbow, and in order to give more freedom to the sword arm, smaller and lighter ones were fixed on the right side. Examples are found at Chalgrove, Oxon., 1441, and Goring, Sussex, c. 1490 (see p. 25). Ten years later the hair was worn shorter, and knights were generally represented bareheaded. The large plates covering the arms were reduced in size; the skirt of taces was cut perpendicularly into a series of small oblong

plates, and the hands were generally ungloved (see p. 25).

Another distinguishing feature of the period was the S.S. Collar—the badge of the House of Lancaster. It was bestowed upon ladies (see p. 65) as well as on knights, and was as highly prized as the ‘Garter’ is to-day. In the earlier collars a series of the letter *S* were sewn on a band; but in later ones they were worked into links of silver or gold, and fastened round the neck with a clasp. The order was founded by Henry IV, when Duke of Hereford. The letter was supposed to stand for his motto, ‘Souveraine’, but it must have had some earlier meaning, as it was used in the days of Edward III. Examples are found at Great Tew, Oxon., 1410; Dorchester, Oxon., 1417 (see p. 28). Included in an inventory of the wardrobe of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, 1392, was a collar of gold with seventeen letters of *S*. This was probably the number generally used in forming the collar.

V. The Yorkist Period

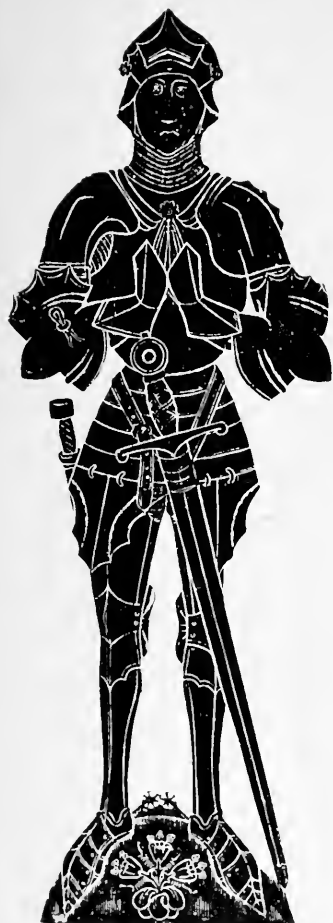
The Yorkist period opens with the battle of S. Albans, 1455, and closes with the battle of Bosworth and the death of Richard III, 1485.

The curious armour then worn must have defeated its purpose by adding unnecessary weight. It is not easy to understand how knights, thus encumbered, could render efficient service on the battlefield. Those unfortunate enough to fall were unable



SIR JOHN DRAYTON, 1417, DORCHESTER, OXON.

In complete plate armour, roundels, and S.S. collar. The lower half of the right leg and the whole of the left are lost ; they have been restored in the illustration.



SIR WILLIAM PRELATTE AND ONE OF HIS WIVES,
1462. CIRENCESTER

In Yorkist armour, showing the salade, with visor open, large pauldrons and collar of mail. The lady wears the mitre head-dress with short-waisted gown and fur collar.

to rise without help, and were almost certain to receive the *coup de grâce*.

The helm (*salade*) was slightly altered from that in use during the previous period. Knights are generally represented bareheaded, with short hair rolled back from the forehead. The breast and back plates were divided into two or more pieces of armour, known as *placcates* or *placcards*. The steel gorget of the previous period was replaced by a collar of mail (*hausse-col*). This is sometimes round, and in other instances vandyked. It is interesting to note this return to chain mail after it had been discarded. It was even more fully adopted in the next period.

The massive and extraordinary steel plates (*paul-arms*), to which reference has already been made, protected the arms and shoulders and obviated the use of roundels or palettes; these plates were not necessarily of the same size and shape, the right one being generally smaller and lighter.

The skirt of plate (*taces*) was shortened and divided into smaller hoops; the *tuilles* increased in size as the period advanced and the intervening space was protected by mail.

The sword depended diagonally from a small belt in front, and a hook on the right side of the breastplate formed a support for the lance. Knee-plates (*genouillères*) were larger, and plates were also introduced to protect the back of the knee-joints.



SIR ANTHONY GREY. 1480, ST. ALBANS ABBEY

In Yorkist armour, collar of sun and roses, and pointed shoes. He was grandson of Harry Hotspur, and was killed at the battle of Barnards Heath, near S. Albans.

Examples are found at Thame, Oxon., *c.* 1460; Adderbury, Oxon., *c.* 1460 (this brass shows the moton, a large metal plate protecting the right shoulder); Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 1462 (see p. 29). The collar of the 'Sun and Roses', the Yorkist badge, replaced the 'S.S.' of the Lancastrian régime. It was composed of a series of suns and roses made of fine metal and linked together alternately. In some instances the rose is superimposed on the sun, the rays of which dart out from underneath. It was adopted by Edward IV after the battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1461. Sir Nicholas Vaux is reported to have worn a very massive collar at the wedding of Prince Arthur, 1501. They are found on brasses at Lillingstone Lovell, Bucks., 1471 (the collar on this brass was formed of coloured enamel: this has now perished); S. Albans, 1480 (see p. 31), and Bury S. Edmunds, *c.* 1480.

About 1480 the hair was worn longer, and the sword hung at the side; the skirt of mail was straight-edged, the shoes (*sabbatons*) were very large and clumsy, with round toes. The lion on which the feet rested in the earlier periods was replaced by a dog: Carshalton, *c.* 1490. These changes led to the next style.

VI. The Mail Skirt or Early Tudor Period

The Mail Skirt or Early Tudor period began with the accession of Henry VII, 1485, and continued until the death of Queen Mary, 1558. The rapid

deterioration in the quality and weight of the metal used and the poorness of execution are very apparent; the sharp, bold lines of the earlier work disappear, and effect is produced by cross-shading.

The changes which took place were very rapid, for at Houghton Conquest, Beds., there are two brasses to the memory of Richard Conquest, which show the two different styles of armour. In the earlier he is represented in Yorkist armour; this was laid down in 1493 at the death of his wife. The other, engraved at his death seven years after, depicts him in the later style.¹ Figures are represented bare-headed, with long, straight, coarse hair. The head frequently rests on a tilting helm, as if the figure were lying down, but the feet stand on a bank of grass or flowers.

The breastplate (*cuirass*) returned to its original simple shape, but was now rounder and ridged (*taful*) down the centre. Additional tuilles known as culettes were added, some being placed at the back; these were also made larger and the shape varied. The sword was retained on the left side and fastened to the armour at the back, and the dagger was larger than in earlier times; a skirt of mail which reached half-way down the thighs was worn beneath the tuilles. Little change took place in the armour protecting the legs. Shoes were still large and round-toed. A complete suit of armour weighed about ninety-five pounds. Knights were sometimes

¹ See illustration in Macklin's *Brasses of England*, p. 221.

represented kneeling at a *prie-dieu*. Specimens of this period are found at Wyvenhoe, Essex, 1507 (see p. 35); Shottesbrooke, Berks., 1511, and Waterperry, Oxon., 1527. Between the Mail Skirt and Tasset periods there was a brief transitional time, when portions of the armour belonging to each style were worn. We find specimens at Antingham, Norfolk, 1554, and West Hanney, Berks., 1557. On the latter, lamboys are combined with the mail skirt (see p. 35).

VII. The Tasset or Elizabethan Period

The Tasset or Elizabethan period began with the accession of Queen Elizabeth (1558) and died out in the days of the Stuarts. Gunpowder was then in general use, and the development of armour reached its final stage. It was found to be ineffectual against the bullet, but it continued to be worn long after it was known to be useless. Even in the days of Marlborough our soldiers wore helmets and breast and back plates.

The general decline in art that set in after the Reformation extended to brass engraving; cullen plates, as already stated, were at this time first manufactured in England. Brasses of this period are in a far worse condition to-day than are those of previous centuries. Designs became more 'classic' and no longer possessed the beauty and simplicity of earlier work. Scenery or buildings were introduced



WILLIAM VISCOUNT BEAUMONT,
1507, WYVENHOE

Showing the mail skirt, tuilles, and round-toed sabatons; he is standing on an elephant (his crest), which bears a howdah with his three children. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Towton Field, fighting on the Lancastrian side.



HUMFRIE CHEYNE, 1557, WEST
HANNEY

Lamboys are shown over the mail skirt. The text of scripture is taken from Coverdale's version of Job xix. 25. Emblems of the Evangelists are placed at the angles.

into the background; figures were often represented as standing on a tiled pavement, and plates were generally set in stone matrices instead of Purbeck marble.

As it was impossible to wear the usual armour over the doublet, which was now in fashion, the cuirass was made longer waisted, more sharply ridged down the centre, and peaked in front. The elbow defences (*pauldrons*) disappear, and the plates protecting the shoulders (*épaulières*) were much larger, almost meeting across the chest. These were lined with leather and are usually shown with a scalloped edge projecting below the plate, as at Ilminster, 1609 (see p. 37). The skirt of taces and the mail skirt were no longer worn. They were replaced by tassets or lamboys (a word derived from the French *lam-beaux*, i.e. a petticoat of steel); these were an enlarged form of tuilles (a series of overlapping plates riveted together) reaching to the knees. Trunk hose came into fashion, shoes were smaller and more pointed. The hair was now worn short. Owing to an accident from a firebrand, Francis I, of France, was obliged to cut his hair; his courtiers followed his example and the fashion soon spread to England. Beards and moustaches were in vogue, also ruffs at the neck and wrists. The sword-hilt was the same shape as at the present day; the dagger was fastened at the side by a scarf. Brasses are found at S. Columb Major



NICHOLAS AND DOROTHY WADHAM, 1609, ILMINSTER
In ridged cuirass and lamboys. The lady wears a Paris
head-dress, pointed bodice, and farthingale.



IN HOC DIVI COLVMBI MAGNORVM SEPVLTVRA ARVNDELICORVM VBI INTEREAM EVL-
GENT SACRA ATRATQ. HOC MAIOMRE TEGIVM DEPOSITVM NOBIL^{ISS}MI IOHANNIS ARVNDELI ORD.
EQUEST VNA CVM SVA CONIVGE ANNA SENLEY FRA THOMAE 11^{MI} COMITIS DERBIENSIS
HORVM FRIGENTES DIO PATER FILII IOHANNES ET GEORGIUS FILIA VERO QVINQUE DOROTHEA
ELIZABETHA CICILIA MARGARETA GERTEVDA
DEPOSITARI. HI V^{TO} SANGVINE ITA ET VIRTVTIBVS CLARVERE AMORQVE PATRIS IN IOHANNEM
FILIVM PARENTIBVS EXEMPLO SVIT VIXERE HIC AD 60. ILLA AD 71. ETATIS ANNUM ET POSTMODVM
HIC POSUIT SVNT AD SVIS MAIORES ILLI ET. NOTA ILLA 22. SEPT. A SAECVLS ILLI 1630 ILLA 1602.



EODIEM SVIS MAIOMRE SVIS ETIAM DEPOSITA NOBIL^{ISS}MI VNI IOHANNIS ARVNDELI FILII HVIVSC^E
EQUITIS ET ANNA LARNEGAN SVA CONIVGIS FEMINA V^{TO} RELIGIONE PLENTANTO ITA CLAVSIVO
ORINDO STEMMATE ILIVSTRIVSVMORVM BACONVM ET DUCIS PARTIVA BOACALVA
HIS FILII QVATVOR IOHANNES MICHAEL THOMAS GEORGIUS FILIAQVE SEPTEN MARIA MAGDALENA
MARIA ANNA CATHERINA DOROTHEA VSTEREN V^{TO} IN IOHANNI PATRE ITA IN IOHANNI HIC SEPVLTO
FILIO INCALVIT RELATIVA AFFECTIO. ADEO VT AMORI PATRINO PLENE RESPONSA DEDERIT FILII PIETAS
QVI VT POSSESSIONVM ITA ET V^{TO}VTVM ANIMAM HEREDITATEM ACCEPTIT OMNI 22. IULII
SCALARI SVO A^{TO} SEPTVAGESIMO. NIMIVM ASCENDEN AD REQVIEM LABORIVS ET DOLOREVS ANNORVM
EXCEPIT. SANCTI VERO HVIVSVM. 1633 SC.

JOHN AND ANNA ARUNDEL (SENIOR AND JUNIOR), 1633,
S. COLUMB MAJOR

Both knights wear lamboys reaching the knees; the son wears jack-boots. The ladies are shown in calash head-dresses, ruffs, and full gowns. The boys have short cloaks, and the girls what are known as 'blue-coat costumes'.

Cornwall, 1590; West Hanney, Berks., 1602, and Iminster, Somerset, 1609 (see p. 37).



NICHOLAS TOKE AND DAUGHTERS, 1680, GREAT CHART

The knight has long flowing hair, beard, and moustache; his daughters wear low-necked dresses, tight bodices, and short puffed sleeves.

Towards the end of the period, armour below the

knees was discarded and replaced by heavy jack-boots ; broad lace collar and cuffs take the place of ruffs. S. Columb Major, Cornwall, 1633 (see p. 38); Kirkheaton, Yorks., 1655.

The latest brass representing a man in armour is that to the memory of Nicholas Toke, Great Chart, Kent, 1680 (see p. 39). He is depicted kneeling at a *prie-dieu*, with long hair, turn-down collar, large pauldrons with scalloped edge, the tassets being fastened to the lower edge of the breastplate, which is long waisted. He had five wives and three children, and lived for ninety-three years ; tradition says that he died whilst walking to London in search of a sixth wife. James I said that 'armour was in every respect a praiseworthy invention inasmuch as while it preserved the wearer from suffering injury by the violence of others, it at the same time by its weight and inconvenience rendered it impossible for him to inflict upon others any serious injuries himself'. It had, however, successfully resisted the onslaught of arrow, axe, lance, and sword, but it was of no avail against the bullet ; and after struggling for more than one hundred years against gunpowder, it was at last hopelessly beaten. Thus passed one of the most picturesque costumes that the age of chivalry, or any other era, has produced.

CHAPTER III

CIVILIANS

Fourteenth Century

THE earliest brass to the memory of a civilian is that of Johan de Bladigdone (with his wife), East Wickham, Kent, *c.* 1325; both are small demi (half) figures, engraved within the head of an octofoil and foliated cross. Examples of this period are scarce and nearly all are of a small size; probably few were laid down, as it was not until the end of the fourteenth century that the middle classes attained either sufficient wealth or influence to secure burial within the precincts of a church. This honour had hitherto been almost exclusively reserved for ecclesiastics, Lords of the Manors, and their relatives and friends; the privilege invariably entailed the payment of a considerable fee to the parish priest. A sufficient number of memorials remain to indicate the principal characteristics of male attire during the early decades of the century. The tunic generally worn was the tight-fitting cote-hardi, which reached to the knees and buttoned in front; it had pouch-like pockets. This coat had tight sleeves reaching to the elbows,

Nichole de Aumberdene iadis peisoner de Londrei
 ora: ip: dieu de salme est metty amen



NICHOLE DE AUMBERDENE, c. 1350, TAPLOW

A fishmonger of London. In cote-hardi, with long lapped sleeves. He wears a moustache, beard, and flowing hair. The stem of the shaft rests on a dolphin. The sinister foliated end of the cross is lost; it has been inserted in the illustration.



NAMES UNKNOWN, *c.* 1370, SHOTTESBROOKE

The civilian has short hair, moustache, and double-pointed beard. He wears a long tunic with tight sleeves, an anelace attached to a belt, and a mantle fastened on the right shoulder, with hood round the neck.

The priest is habited in amice, alb, stole, maniple, and chasuble.

from which hung long narrow lappets; but the sleeve of the under-robe was longer and buttoned at the wrist. For outdoor wear, a combined cape and hood (*chaperon*) covered the neck and shoulders; this had been in use from Norman times. A belt (*bawdric*) was fastened round the hips; stockings, and shoes with pointed toes, laced at the sides and fastened over the instep, completed the costume. Hats or caps are never shown at this date; the mode of dressing the hair was similar to that described on p. 42. Taplow, Bucks., *c.* 1350 (see p. 42); Nuffield, Oxon., *c.* 1360 (*demi*); Deddington, Oxon., 1370 (*demi*); Temple Church, Bristol, *c.* 1396.

Toward the close of the century some changes were made. The tunic was lengthened and a mantle which fastened with a button on the right shoulder was worn over all; this garment had a long, loose sleeve, similar to that of a surplice; the sleeves of the under-robe now covered half of the hands. The use of the chaperon was discontinued. An ornamental girdle, often enriched with jewels, to which a short dagger (*anelace*) was attached, encircled the waist; sometimes this belt is found carried across the right shoulder, as at Ore, near Hastings, *c.* 1400 (see p. 46). The hair was worn shorter. Young men were clean shaven, but seniors wore moustache and beard. Chaucer tells us that 'A marchant was ther with a forkèd berd'. In order to prevent extravagance in dress amongst

the middle classes, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1363 prohibiting tradesmen or their wives wearing any garment of which the material cost more than 40s., neither were they allowed to ornament their clothing with precious stones, nor wear gold or silver on their girdles, garters, or knives. The only furs permitted were lamb, cat, rabbit, and fox. Shottesbrooke, Berks., *c.* 1370 (see p. 43); North-leach, Gloucestershire, *c.* 1400.

Fifteenth Century

The most notable feature of this century is the large number of brasses which were laid down to the memory of the members of the various trade guilds. Of these the wool merchants, who outnumbered all the others, were the most important traders in the country at this time; their guild was incorporated by Edward III after the capture of Calais, 1347. It was a very close corporation, and none excepting its members could deal in wool, which could only be imported into England at certain privileged ports. Members were empowered to make their own regulations for carrying on the trade; their chief officer was known as the Mayor. Gloucester and Lincoln were the most important seats of the staple. Under such circumstances the trade was exceedingly lucrative, and the wealth of those engaged in it enabled them to provide many of these costly memorials. Wool



NAMES UNKNOWN, c. 1400, ORE

Civilian in long tunic, coat-shape sleeve and hood. The lady wears a nébulé head-dress and a tight fitting kirtle which buttons to the ground.



NAMES UNKNOWN, *c.* 1440, SHOREHAM

The civilian is depicted in long fur-lined tunic, with bag-shape sleeves, tight at the wrist ; shoes are not shown. The lady wears an early form of the horned head-dress, a short-waisted gown, with sleeves similar to those of her husband.

merchants are generally represented standing on a wool pack.

Vintners are often shown standing on a wine cask: Cirencester, *c.* 1400. William Scors, a tailor, is depicted at Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1447, with a pair of scissors between his feet. At Fletching, Sussex, Peter Denot, *c.* 1450, is commemorated by a pair of gloves and an inscription; he was probably a glover. Merchants' marks and the arms of the various merchant companies frequently appear on these brasses. On that of Andrew Evingar the shield of the Merchant Adventurers is shown on the *dexter*, while that of the Salters' Company is on the *sinister*. The merchants' trade-mark is on the lower shield.

In the early part of the century the gown was discarded, being only retained by judges and civic officials, and it is still worn by their modern representatives almost unaltered. The tunic was long and loose, nearly reaching to the ankles. It was buttoned high at the neck and the sleeves were bag-shape, being full and deep but tight at the wrists. A narrow belt was now worn, from which the hunting-knife (*anelace*) was suspended on the left side. S. John's, Margate, 1431; Shoreham, Sussex, *c.* 1440 (see p. 47); Cirencester, 1442; the last commemorates a merchant with four wives, and shows a trade-mark.

About 1420 the hair was cut straight across the forehead, forming a roll round the head, and



RYCHARD, JOHN, AND ISABELLE MANFELD, 1455, TAPLOW

Rychard wears a fur-lined tunic, trimmed fur round the bottom, and a collar of some unknown order; his brother is depicted in a shroud with a cross crosslet on the head; his sister has long flowing hair reaching half-way down the back, and wears a tight-fitting kirtle and mantle.

moustaches fell into disfavour. The tunic was shortened; a broad, loose, turn-down collar revealed an under-garment; stockings were worn, but brasses at this period do not show any shoes. Trotton, Sussex, 1419; Taplow, Bucks., 1455 (see p. 49); Lillingstone Lovell, Bucks., 1471.



NAME UNKNOWN, c. 1500, CHINNOR

Size of brass, $5\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, probably the smallest showing the figure of a man. It depicts a long gown cut low at the neck, large open sleeves, and belt round waist.

Towards the end of the century the hair was worn longer, almost reaching to the shoulders; the tunic was lengthened and sleeves were smaller (Barford, S. Michael, 1495), though wider ones again came into use soon afterwards. The robe was lined or edged with fur; the hood was generally discarded, but is occasionally shown over the right shoulder with a long end trailing on the ground.



GEOFFREY DORMER AND WIVES, 1502, THAME

A wool stapler, in long gown with large open sleeves and fur collar. The ladies wear the pedimental head-dress, plain tight bodice, belt with one long end almost reaching the ground. The emblems of the evangelists are depicted at the corners, and a trade mark and shield are shown.

Fur collar, cuffs, and shoes (*sabbatons*) with heels and round toes were worn; a rosary with a purse (*gypcièrre*) replaced the hunting-knife. Thame, Oxon., 1502 (see p. 51).

Sixteenth Century

The costume of the fifteenth overlapped the greater part of the first half of the sixteenth century. The gown was generally shortened and worn open in front; lappets reaching the knees hung from the short false sleeves, and the girdle was discarded.

The doublet, a new garment which was introduced into England from Italy, became popular. It was a tight-sleeved and short-skirted coat, stuffed out in front with horse-hair to give it a ridged effect; a girdle encircled the waist, to which the purse was attached. A cloak was worn out of doors. Trunk hose and clumsy round-toed shoes were in vogue. This style continued for nearly two hundred years. Shottesbrooke, Berks., 1567 (see p. 53); S. Clement's, Hastings, 1601 (see p. 56); S. Mary Cray, Kent, 1604 (see p. 54).

Towards the close of the century fur lining was discarded. Gentlemen began to wear stiff ruffs round the neck and wrists, and they also followed feminine fashion by adopting striped sleeves. The doublet was made longer in the waist, the skirt falling over short, loose breeches, which nearly reached to the knees; the latter were extended by means of horse-hair, and they were frequently striped to



THOMAS NOKE, 1567, SHOTTESBROOKE

A yeoman of the Crown, in doublet and long gown, trimmed fur, open in front, long false sleeves, with badge on left shoulder.



HERE LYETH BYRYED THE BODY OF RICHARD MANNING SONE OF IOHN MANNING GENT. WHO TOOK TO WIFE RACHAEL ONE OF Y DAUGHTERS AND COHEYRES OF WILLIAM WHITE OF HAMSTEED IN MIDDLESEX WITH WHOME HAVING HAPPILY LYVED TO THE SERVICE OF GOD AND RELIFE OF THE POORE 39 YEARES IN THE 63 YEARE OF HIS AGE HE DYED WITHOVT ISSE THE 18 OF IANVARY 1604 HIS WIFE YET SVRVIVING PVRPOSETH BY GODS PERMISSION TO BE HERE INTERRED BY HIM AT HIS DEATH IN WHOSE FELLOWSHIP SHE ENIOYED Y COMFORT OF HER LIFE

RICHARD AND RACHEL MANNING, 1604, S. MARY CRAY

In doublet and long open gown, with ruff round the neck. The lady wears the calash head-dress and a small cap under, ruff, partlet, farthingale, and a handsome broché panel skirt. The inscription is in raised letters.

match the sleeves. Hair was cut short, and beards and moustaches came into favour. Queens' College, Camb., 1591; All Hallows', Barking, 1591.

Elderly people were sometimes depicted with a staff in their hand, as at Salisbury Cathedral, 1578 (see p. 99).

Seventeenth Century

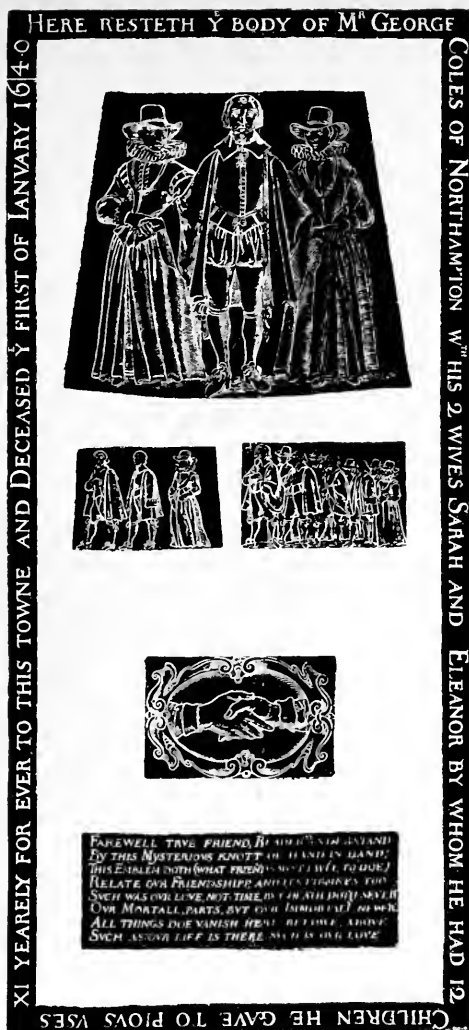
The brasses of this period rapidly declined in number, quality, and execution. The great innovation in male attire was the introduction of knee-breeches, which were generally tied with ribbon or buttoned at the knee. Silk stockings were used with elaborate footwear. A short cloak, large in the neck, with a turn-down collar, replaced the more graceful gown, and a small sword (*rapier*) depended from the waist. The skirt of the doublet was lengthened, and a handsome collar and cuffs replaced the ruff. The hair was worn long, and jack-boots were generally used. S. Clement's, Hastings, 1601 (see p. 56); S. Sepulchre's, Northampton, 1640 (see p. 57).

Eighteenth Century

Only about four brasses of this century are known to exist. Wigs now became common. A longer-skirted coat stiffened out with buckram, opening in front, with deep collar and large sleeves and turn-back cuffs, was worn. A richly embroidered waistcoat, somewhat long, with knee-breeches, silk



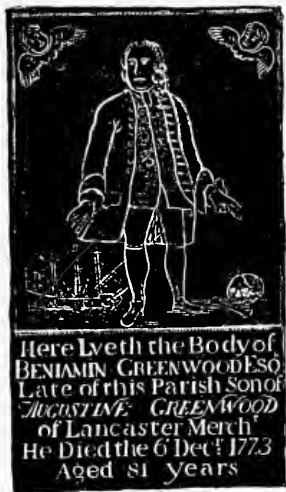
JOHN BARLEY, 1601, S. CLEMENT'S, HASTINGS
Showing the doublet, tight breeches, cloak reaching
to the knees, and ruff; short hair.



GEORGE, SARAH, AND ELEANOR COLES, 1640,
 S. SEPULCHRE'S, NORTHAMPTON

In doublet, trunk hose with ribbon garters, and loose cloak.
 He was a great benefactor to the town. The ladies wear felt
 hats, full skirts, and ruffs.

stockings, and square-toed shoes with buckles, completed the costume. Leigh, Essex, 1709; S. Peter's, Leeds, 1709; Newark, Notts., 1715.



BENJAMIN AND PHILADELPHIA GREENWOOD, 1747,
S. MARY CRAY

The latest example which brasses afford of civilian costume is at S. Mary Cray, Kent, 1773. Benjamin Greenwood is here depicted in wig, knee-breeches, stockings, shoes, and coat with a full skirt. The coat is cut away in front in order to disclose a long and handsomely embroidered waistcoat. The lady wears a veil head-dress, tight-sleeved bodice, and a broché damask skirt.

CHAPTER IV

DAMES

THERE are only a few brasses which illustrate feminine attire during the early decades of the fourteenth century. Of these one of the oldest, as already stated, is that of Margarete de Camoys (see p. 61). At this date the hair was parted down the centre and generally plaited, or a curl was arranged on each side of the face; a white linen band, designated a wimple, or gorget, was tied round the neck and brought over the chin, then drawn up at each side and fastened across the forehead, an ornamental or jewelled band being worn above it. The wimple was supposed to mark a modest woman, for a contemporary writer states 'modest women were gwimpled well'. They were first introduced into England by King John, who ordered 'four white & good wimples' to be made for his Queen: they must have been worn in Eastern countries as early as the eighth century B.C., for the prophet Isaiah (iii. 22) speaks of them. A veil was placed on the head, the lower folds of which fell on to the shoulders.

The dress consisted of an underskirt (*kirtle*) and

bodice (generally embroidered), with tight sleeves buttoned on the under-side; over this was a sleeveless bodice and a robe (*cote-hardi*). The latter was a tight-fitting garment, buttoned down the front, with tight sleeves reaching a little below the elbows. The train, which was frequently of considerable length, is generally shown thrown over the arm; court trains, therefore, are by no means modern. Even Homer refers to them when he writes of 'Trojan women with trailing robes'.

For outdoor wear a cloak or mantle, fastened across the chest with a cord, was used. This garment is not shown in some brasses of the period. Shoes had pointed toes. Lady Camoys' dress as represented on this brass is very simple; the kirtle is 'powdered' with her coat of arms—these are now missing, but they have been inserted in the illustration. It was probably engraved in France, as this method of enrichment was not adopted in England until early Tudor days. During the latter period, it was customary for ladies' kirtles to be charged with the arms of their own family, whilst those of their husband were embroidered on the mantle; this style continued until the end of the sixteenth century. Other examples of this date are found at East Wickham, Kent, 1325, and Wimbish, Essex, 1347.

About 1370 the head-dress became the distinguishing feature of ladies' attire, and it affords the best means of determining the date of a brass, the



MARGARETE DE CAMOYS, *c.* 1310, TROTTON

Showing the veil head-dress, wimple, kirtle with tight sleeves, and cote-hardi with loose sleeves. The shields have been lost, but they have been restored in the illustration.

various styles being quite distinct. The Rev. H. W. Macklin divides them into five classes, viz. :

- I. The Reticulated.
- II. The Horned.
- III. The Butterfly.
- IV. The Pedimental.
- V. The Paris.

It is interesting to note that during four centuries only five distinct changes were made in ladies' head adornment.

To the above list we propose to add another period, viz. the Jacobean ; this change was made at the commencement of the seventeenth century.

I. The Reticulated

The Reticulated head-dress was first worn about the time of the accession of Edward III, 1327, and continued to about the date of the death of Henry IV, 1413. The earliest forms of this head-dress are known as the *Nébulé* and *Zigzag*. They are depicted by a series of waved lines which varied somewhat and were probably intended to represent frills. The *Nébulé* was a close cap made of net, worn on the top of the head with a plait of hair falling down on each side, the ends of which were rolled into balls and rested on the shoulders. Representations are found at Ore, Sussex, *c.* 1400 (see p. 46), and at Great Tew, Oxon., 1410. The latter is exceptionally late, as this style had been superseded for some thirty years.

The Zigzag differed but slightly from the Nébulé; the cap, however, generally fitted closer to the face and covered the hair. Examples may be seen at Waterperry, Oxon., *c.* 1370; Chinnor, Oxon., *c.* 1380 (see p. 20).

The Reticulated head-dress shows the hair plaited on each side of the head, a jewelled band being placed across the forehead and fastened to a small kerchief. Brasses illustrating this feature are found at Goring, Oxon., 1401, and Dartmouth, 1403 (see p. 21). A further development was known as the Crespine; the hair was brushed back from the forehead, gathered into a net on the top of the head, and rolled into balls over each ear; these balls were covered with gold, silver, or jewelled nets (*cauls*), and a small veil which hung down the back was attached to the top of the head. Examples are found on brasses at Sawtry, Hunts., 1404; Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1416 (see p. 24). In course of time the side cauls were gradually enlarged and the veil was brought over them.

The costume worn at this period consisted of a tight-fitting closely-buttoned kirtle, low and square at the neck, with tight sleeves buttoned to the elbow and shaped cuffs partly covering the hands (see p. 21); over this was the sideless *cote-hardi*; the latter was a curious garment which remained in fashion for 150 years. It resembled a jacket without sides; it was gradually reduced in size until it became a mere band of fur trimming, hanging

loosely over the kirtle; an apron-like garment which hung down in front and at the back was frequently attached to it. A loose mantle, open in front, completed the costume (see p. 24). At this period, only royal and noble ladies were allowed by law to wear fur. Small shoes with pointed toes were in vogue; these points were sometimes two feet long, but no one under the rank of an esquire was allowed to wear points more than two inches long. These pointed shoes were known as Cracowes; they were introduced into England by Anne of Bohemia, granddaughter of John, King of Poland, and Queen of Richard II. Ladies of rank wore gold, silver, or richly ornamented girdles, to which the inkhorn, pen, purse, and rosary were attached.

II. The Horned

The Horned head-dress was a development of the previous style; it came into fashion about the time of Henry V, 1413, and lasted some fifty years, up to the accession of Edward IV. Cirencester, 1442; Shoreham, *c.* 1440 (see p. 47).

As the cauls grew in size they became more square—as depicted on the brasses at Broughton, Oxon., 1414, and Trotton, Sussex, 1419 (see p. 65). Sometimes the outer edge was turned up and so formed a kind of horn, from which the style is named; over all hung a veil, longer than in the preceding style, which fell over the horns,

forehead, and back. Examples may be seen at Arundel, Sussex, *c.* 1430; Hereford Cathedral, 1435; Baldwyn Brightwell, Oxon., 1439.



ELIZABETH DE CAMOYS, 1419, TROTTON

Wearing the horned head-dress, S.S. collar, sideless cote-hardi, kirtle, and mantle. She was a daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and her first husband was Harry Percy (Hotspur). Only a small portion of this very handsome brass is illustrated.

With the horned head-dress a new style of attire was adopted. The kirtle and mantle were to a large extent discarded, being superseded by a short-waisted gown, a turn-down collar somewhat low in front, deep and full sleeves almost tight at the wrist,

and a narrow belt buckled under the breast as seen in the brasses at Shoreham (see p. 47) and Hampton Poyle, Oxon., 1424.

Later in this period very deep sleeves reaching almost to the ground, similar to those of a surplice, were worn by ladies of rank. This costume is depicted at Northfleet, Kent, 1433, and Baldwyn Brightwell, Oxon., 1439.

In course of time the horns of the head-dress were gradually drawn closer, and this form is known as the 'mitre' head-dress. The veil was lifted off the shoulders and hung over the back in folds as at Cirencester, 1462 (see p. 29), and Adderbury, Oxon., *c.* 1460.

With the mitre head-dress a further slight change of costume was made. A loose fur-lined robe, low at the neck, with full sleeves, was introduced; this was generally trimmed with fur; necklaces with pendants were also common. There is a rare example of a curious style at Ash-next-Sandwich, Kent, 1460, viz. a horseshoe ornament fixed in front of the head-dress; the latter appears to have been worn without a veil.

Extravagances of costume were now very marked; the head-dress was very high and carried to a point, like a sugar-loaf; the Queen Consort of Charles VI of France was obliged to have all the doors of her palaces heightened in order that she might pass through without stooping. None of these absurdities are represented on brasses. At this time

the costume of widows consisted of the veil head-dress, with wimple and chin cloth (*barbe*) ; the *barbe* was a white pleated linen tie fastened to the wimple, reaching to the breast. It was worn either above or below the chin according to the lady's rank in life, and was in vogue during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The *barbe* was gradually enlarged and eventually covered the shoulders like a cape. The tight-fitting kirtle and mantle seem to have been invariably worn by widows. There are examples at Elstow, Beds. (an abbess in widow's costume, see p. 119); Ewelme, Oxon., 1436; and Stoke d'Abernon, 1464.

III. The Butterfly

Of all the various styles of head-dress worn in the Middle Ages, the Butterfly was perhaps the most curious. It was introduced about 1470 and closely resembled a hand-camera in appearance; it remained in fashion for about forty years while the exaggerated armour of the Yorkist period was worn, and went out with the accession of the Tudors. The hair was brushed back from the forehead into an ornamental net, and the veil was supported by wires projecting some distance beyond the back of the head. The head-dress was probably not so heavy as it appears, as the veil was of gauze or some other light material.

In order to show this head-dress to advantage, ladies were nearly always represented in profile, also



SIR THOMAS URSWYK AND FAMILY, 1479, DAGENHAM

Sir Thomas wears the robes of a chief Baron of Exchequer, his mantle buttons on the right shoulder, a rosary depends on that side. He was Recorder of London. The lady is robed in kirtle with low neck, mantle, and butterfly head-dress. The eldest daughter is habited as a nun. A plate with four sons is lost.

leaning backward from the hips ; this gives them an unnatural appearance.

The costume at this period was tight fitting, very low at the neck, with small sleeves and fur-trimmed cuffs drooping over the hands, with a girdle round the waist from which a rosary was suspended. It was also customary to wear massive necklaces ; shoes were round toed.

Brasses with these details are found at Ingrave, Essex, 1466 ; Dagenham, Essex, 1479 (see p. 68) ; Bickling, Norfolk, 1485 ; Carshalton, *c.* 1490.

Unmarried ladies wore long hair, which was enriched with a narrow jewelled band, as at Taplow, Bucks., 1455 (see p. 49), and Dagenham, Essex, 1479 (see p. 68). Married ladies are sometimes similarly depicted : Wilmslow, Cheshire, 1460.

IV. The Pedimental

The Pedimental head-dress (see p. 51) was worn during the period coeval with the mail-skirt armour of Knights ; it came into fashion on the accession of Henry VII, 1485, and continued in use up to the death of Queen Mary, 1558. This adornment, with its straight, stiff lines, seems to have followed the then prevailing style of architecture, which is known as the 'Perpendicular'.

Like its predecessor, this coiffure was supported by wires, but was smaller and entirely covered the head, much as did the Early Victorian bonnets. It was generally made of velvet, with handsome fur or embroidered velvet lappets carried to a point at

the top and hanging down each side of the face. The veil was replaced by lappets hanging at the back of the head. There are examples at Goring, Sussex, 1490 (see p. 25); Thame, Oxon., 1502 (see p. 51); Carshalton, 1524; Waterperry, Oxon., 1527 (see p. 145).

At this period a black velvet head-dress trimmed with gold damask cost 26s. 8d.¹ As a labourer worked one hundred days for this sum, it was equal to about £12 in modern currency.²

Gowns were generally square at the neck and longer in the waist, the front being usually laced with cord; trains were gradually added. The front of the skirt was sometimes caught up and fastened by a band round the hips. During the early part of the period sleeves were tight, but these were afterwards made shorter and wider, with a tight under-sleeve. Costumes were trimmed with fur on both bodice and skirt; handsome broad belts, generally of metal, with a long end reaching nearly to the ground, were also worn. These were sometimes fastened at the back, and from them depended a pomander or scent box—which frequently contained disinfectant—also a metal ball for warming the hands (see p. 145). Pouches or hand-bags, and necklaces with pendants, were also used.

About 1525 the Partlet was introduced. This

¹ Botfield's *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the 13th and 15th Centuries*.

² Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*.

was a detachable front or habit shirt, finely pleated and trimmed with edging and often richly ornamented with jewels. The costume worn with it had a low neck, the sleeves being frequently made from a striped material, as at Waterperry, Oxon., 1527 (see p. 145).

V. The Paris

The Paris or Mary Stuart head-dress more than covered the Elizabethan period, remaining in fashion from the end of Henry VII's reign until the days of James I. For some time it overlapped the previous style, being introduced soon after the Pedimental and outlasting it about fifty years. The change was brought about by shortening the ends of the front lappets and turning them up to the top of the head.

This was the most becoming head-dress that fashion had up to that time evolved. It was a close-fitting cap, covering each side of the face, with an ornamental band carried across the top of the head shaped in front something like a horse-shoe. Lappets hung over the shoulders at the back. The hair was uncovered in front and parted in the centre: Burton, Sussex, 1558 (see p. 181); Cumnor, Berks., 1590; West Hanney, Berks., 1602 (see p. 73) and 1611; and S. Michael's, Oxford, 1578 (see p. 131).

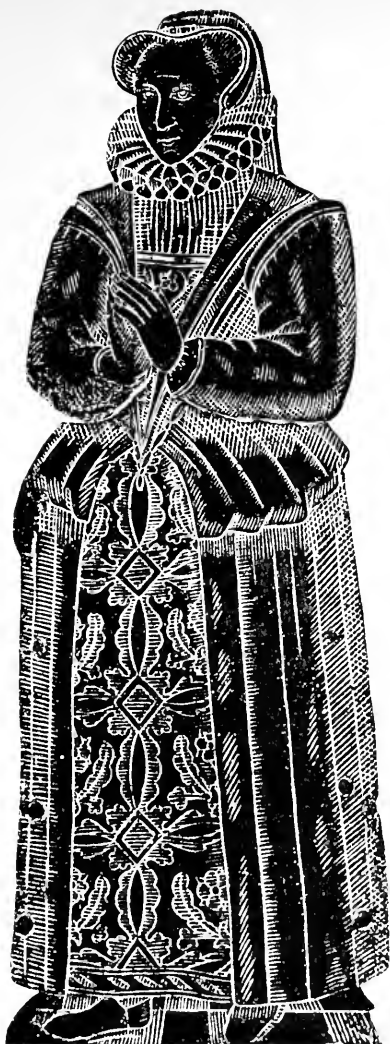
A mantle opening in front with puffed half-sleeves and false ones hanging from the shoulders was

sometimes worn. The bodice had an open collar, the sleeves being generally tight and made of a striped material; quilted petticoats were commonly worn, and sashes from which books, tablets, or other articles were suspended. Brasses showing these features may be seen at Cumnor, Berks., 1577; Swallowfield, Berks., 1554—this mantle is tied with ribbon bows, and a jewelled tablet is suspended by a cord which is fastened round the waist.

The accession of Mary and Elizabeth—the first British queens who reigned in their own right—witnessed great alterations in costume, and modern dress may be said to date from their time.

The head-dress remained as previously described, but the kirtle or under-robe was long and fitted close to the neck. Puffed and striped sleeves were still worn with a bodice flounced at the waist and set off with a narrow girdle. The partlet also fitted close to the neck, a worked stomacher was brought to a point at the waist (see p. 73) and the skirt was enriched in front with a handsome embroidered panel, whilst the farthingale, the forerunner of the crinoline, encircled the hips. The farthingale was originally made round, but it gradually became more oval in shape by extending the sides. The sleeveless mantle was still worn over all. Shoes had large round toes: West Hanney, Berks., 1602 (see p. 73), and Ilminster, Somerset, 1618 (see p. 37).

About 1570 stiff neck and wrist ruffles came into



ONE OF THE WIVES OF FRANCIS WELLESBOURNE.
1602, WEST HANNEY

In Paris head-dress, ruff, partlet, bodice flounced at the waist, turn-back cuffs, handsome broché panel skirt, and farthingale.

use, and these increased to the large dimensions with which contemporary pictures have made us so familiar (see p. 73). There is a good illustration of an Elizabethan costume at Sawbridgeworth, Herts., *c.* 1600.

VI. The Jacobean

The last period may conveniently be named the Jacobean. From the close of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, very few brasses commemorating ladies were laid down. The common form of head-dress was that in which the lappets of the Paris type were turned up and fastened on the top of the head. Broad-brimmed hats are worn for the first time in ladies' costume. These were generally made of soft felt and trimmed with a band; a contemporary writer tells us 'they were first made in England at the *little* village of Wandsworth'. Northampton, 1640 (see p. 57), and Bray, Berks., 1610. Ruffs, heart-shaped stomachers, and plain skirts were worn.

In the early Stuart period another head-covering was introduced—the Calash (see p. 75). This was a large veil made into a hood by means of whalebone. It was caught in at the neck and then fell on to the shoulders, almost reaching to the ground at the back. Bodice and skirt were worn full, with a ribbon waist-sash tied in front as at S. Columb Major, Cornwall, 1590 (see p. 38), and S. Mary Cray, Kent, 1604. A feather fan is



HERE LYETH THE BODY OF M^{rs} ANN KENWELL-
 MERSH AVERTVOVS & WOORTHY MATRON OF A
 PIOUS WHO DYED IN THE 68TH YEER OF HER AGE
 ANNO DNI 1637
 HERE ALSO LYETH THE BODY OF MENELEB A
 RAYNSFORD HER GRANDCHILD, THE SONNE OF HER
 DAUGHTER MARY WHO DEPARTED HENCE ON THE
 2TH DAY OF MAY ANNO DNI 1627. IN THE 9TH
 YEER OF HIS AGE

GREAT JOVE HATH LOST HIS GANYMEDE I KNOW
 WHICH MADE HIM SEEK AN OTHER HERE BELOW
 AND FINDING NONE NOT ONE LIKE VNTO THIS
 HATH TAKE HIM HENCE INTO ETERNALL BLISS
 CEASE THEN FOR THY DEER MENELE TO WEEP
 FORS DARLINGE WAS TOO GOOD FOR THEE TO KEEP
 BUT RATHER IOVE IN THIS GREAT FAVOUR GIVEN
 A CHILD ON EARTH IS MADE A SAINT IN HEAVEN

HERE ALSO LYETH THE BODY OF
 ELIZABETH RAYNSFORD WIFE
 OF GEORGE RAYNSFORD GENT
 WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE
 TENTH DAY OF IVNE IN THE
 YEARE 1672. AND IN THE 58TH
 YEARE OF HER AGE, SHEE LIVED
 AND DYED A VIRTVOVS MATRON.

That with full Lamp like virgin was
 Was still prepar'd for this surprize
 And now departed hence to dwell
 Vnto a place where joyes dwell

ANN KENWELL-MERSH, 1633, HENFIELD

Showing the calash head-dress, ruff, full bodice and skirt, ribbon sash, feather fan ; her son wears a typical Vandyck costume.

depicted for the first time on the brass of Ann Kenwell-Mersh, Henfield, Sussex, 1633 (see p. 75). It was originally introduced into England from Italy in the sixteenth century.

The embroidered petticoat remained in favour and the heraldic mantle is occasionally found. Farthingales were worn during the greater part of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding an edict issued by James I forbidding ladies to appear in them at court; pointed stomachers and plain sleeves were fashionable; ruffs were replaced by wide collars and cuffs enriched with lace; hats were broader in the brim and higher in the crown, and circular cloaks found favour.

In the early days of Charles the First hair was worn in curls, and a veil was thrown over the head. The undergown was short waisted, with full sleeves and turn-down lace collars and cuffs. Embroidered petticoats were still in vogue, but the farthingale was discarded; a sleeveless mantle similar to a cloak, necklace, and high-heeled shoes completed the costume. Examples are found at Ightham (Jane Craddock), Kent, 1626; Ardingly, Sussex (Eliz. Culpeper), 1633; and Bampton, Oxon., 1633.

The only specimen, so far as we are aware, of the Puritan bonnet is found at S. Cross, Oxford, 1625 (see p. 77). This is very similar in shape to the Early Victorian bonnet.

In Charles II's reign low-necked gowns with tight-fitting bodices laced in front and very short sleeves,

similar to a baby's puffed sleeve of the present day, were in favour. The hair fell in curls on the neck and was plaited across the forehead as at Great Chart, Kent, *c.* 1680 (see p. 39). Planché wrote, 'a studied negligence, an elegant déshabillé, is the prevailing character of costume,' a very moderate way of describing court dresses at this period.



AGNES AND JANE HOPPER, 1625, S. CROSS, OXFORD

Agnes is depicted in widow's costume, with veil and barbe. Jane wears a Puritan bonnet, ruff, tight bodice, full skirt, and belt round waist.

The latest brass depicting ladies' costume is that of Philadelphia Greenwood, S. Mary Cray, Kent, 1747. It illustrates costume worn in Georgian days, viz. a veil head-dress reaching to the ground, a pleated kerchief round the neck, and a plain bodice with low neck and tight sleeves. A handsome broché skirt opening in front, with revers turned back, reveals an underskirt (see p. 58).

CHAPTER V

ECCLESIASTICS

ECCLESIASTICAL vestments are of great antiquity : some now worn in Christian worship date from Levitical days ; their use in the three great historic churches of Christendom makes us familiar with their forms and colours. In the early years of the Christian era the ordinary overdress of a Roman civilian was a tunic, varying in length but always reaching below the knees ; over this a mantle or toga was worn.

In the fifth century the northern barbarians invaded Italy, and during the succeeding hundred years their influence largely modified Roman manners and customs, one result being that the long full robes previously worn were gradually supplanted by attire more suitable for war.

Gregory the Great, who ascended the Pontifical throne in 590, objected to the new fashion and refused to receive any one into his presence who adopted it. As the result of this edict the ordinary civilian costume of Imperial Rome gradually became the distinctive garb of the priesthood.

At the Council of Toledo, held in 633, the follow-

ing ornaments are mentioned: the alb, chasuble, stole, ring, and pastoral staff; at the Council of Soissons, which met in the following century, some members endeavoured to make certain changes in



RICHARD DE HAKEBOURNE, c. 1310, MERTON
COLLEGE, OXFORD

In amice, alb, and chasuble. The figure was originally superimposed on a floriated cross. He was one of the first fellows of Merton 1296, and Sub-Warden 1304.

ecclesiastical costume, but their efforts were unsuccessful; from that time shapes and colours became stereotyped and mystic symbolism gradually began to be associated with their use.

In the Early Saxon period vestments in England

were chiefly white and very simple in character, but coloured material enriched with embroidery was gradually introduced.

The earliest existing memorial brass in Europe is that of an ecclesiastic, Archbishop Iso-von-wilpe, at Verden, Hanover, 1231 (see illustration on cover). The oldest brass in England commemorating an ecclesiastic is a demi-figure of Richard de Hakebourne, Merton College, Oxford, *c.* 1310 (see p. 79).

The treatment of this subject falls under four heads, viz. Eucharistic, Processional, Academic, and Monastic Vestments and Costume.

I. Eucharistic Vestments

The Amice

Eucharistic vestments, which include all those worn by priests at the altar, were collectively known as 'The Vestment'. The first robe in which the priest vests himself when preparing for this service is the amice; this word is derived from the Latin *amictus*, an upper or outer garment. Originally a linen hood, it developed into an oblong collar enriched in the centre with an embroidered cross and a piece of trimming (*apparel*)¹ which was sewn on the lower edge. It was worn round the neck and shoulders and tied in front, and it not only covered the collar of the priest's ordinary

¹ A piece of embroidery sewn on to a vestment. Apparels were often enriched with gold and precious stones.

habit, but also prevented the stole from riding up at the back of the neck. The amice symbolizes the napkin with which our Lord was blindfolded at His trial before the high priest: Richard de Hakebourne, Merton, 1310; Shottesbrooke, *c.* 1370 (see p. 43); Stoke-in-Teignhead, 1375.

The Alb

The alb, which is the oldest Christian vestment, was worn by all church officials. It is a long linen robe, generally white, enriched on the lower edge, both back and front, and on the breast and cuffs with apparels (see pp. 83, 85). The alb is put on over the head, has tight sleeves, and is tied round the waist with a sash or girdle. It derived its name from *albus* (white), and is indicative of the white garment which Herod placed upon our Lord before sending Him back to Pilate. The alb is referred to by S. John, in the book of Revelation i. 13, 'One like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle': Thomas Clerke, Horsham, 1411 (see p. 83); Stoke-in-Teignhead, *c.* 1375. Angels are always shown on brasses robed in the amice and alb (see p. 164).

The Stole

The stole was originally made of white woollen material, but silk, embroidered and fringed at the

ends, was used later ; it was worn round the neck, crossed over the breast, and reached almost to the feet in front, being held in position by the girdle : Thomas Clerke, Horsham (p. 83). At first it was exclusively a Eucharistic vestment, but it is now frequently used at other services ; stoles, which were first worn by bishops and priests about the eighth century, symbolized the bands by which our Lord was bound to the pillar when scourged, whilst the girdle represented the scourge. In the Middle Ages ladies wore stoles as they do to-day ; they were evidently wider then than they are now, for Milton (*Il Penseroso*, v. 35) describes Melancholy wearing

A sable stole of cyprus lawn,
Over thy decent shoulders drawn.

The Maniple

The maniple, similar in shape to the stole but much smaller, is attached to the left arm of the celebrant, and was simply a linen napkin or towel used for the cleansing of the sacred vessels at Holy Communion. From being a vestment of practical use it gradually developed into a mere ornament, and was then made of silk. It was a symbol of the towel with which our Lord wiped the Apostles' feet at the last supper : Shottesbrooke, *c.* 1370 (see p. 43) ; Thomas Cranley, New College, Oxford, 1417 (see p. 93).



THOMAS CLERKE, 1411, HORSHAM

In amice, alb, and stole (crossed). His initials are worked into the orphreys of the shaped cope. The head and feet are lost, but they have been restored in the illustration.

The Chasuble

This word is derived from the Latin *casula*, which means a little hut, the name being applied to this vestment because it was originally large enough to cover the entire figure. It is held to be the garment which S. Paul asked S. Timothy to bring with him from Troas (2 Timothy iv. 13). The chasuble was worn over all the preceding vestments. It was oval in shape and was originally made of woollen material, but at a later period silk or other rich fabrics were introduced; it was usually ornamented with a Y-shape orphrey, resembling the pallium, to which further reference will be made; in later times the orphrey became more like a Latin cross. The chasuble had neither sleeves nor arm-holes, and when the arms were raised it fell over them in folds; a circular opening at the top permitted the head to pass through. The chasuble is typical of the purple mantle which the Roman soldiers placed upon our Lord, after they had scourged Him. It probably derives its origin from Exodus xxviii. 31, 32, 'And thou shalt make the robe of the ephod all of blue. And there shall be an hole in the top of it, in the midst thereof.' Priests were usually buried habited in Eucharistic vestments, and they are generally thus portrayed on their memorials. Good illustrations are found at Shottesbrooke, *c.* 1370, and New College, Oxford, 1417 (see pp. 43, 93).



RICARDUS KEGERT, 1485, RINGSTEAD

In loose amice, alb, and chasuble made of a soft clinging material. The maniple and stole are not shown.

At the end of the fourteenth century priests began to wear tight-fitting chasubles made of some thin material; the neck was often bare, the amice fitting loosely round it: Richard Kegett, Ringstead, Norfolk, 1485; on this brass the stole and maniple are not shown. There are only about half a dozen similar instances (see p. 85). About this time the ends of the stole and maniple were widened; the hair was rolled back off the forehead (in a style not unlike that adopted by ladies *c.* 1907), and a short beard was often worn.

In the fifteenth century the chasuble was made plainer, the stole and maniple were of uniform width throughout and had straight ends, and the chalice, with the wafer, is usually shown in the priest's hands. The wafer is always represented as round, possibly from the fact that the Passover cakes were of that shape. John Scoffeyld, Brightwell, Berks., 1507; Jacob Batersby, Great Rollright, Oxon., 1522.

It is interesting to note that the use of the chasuble was revived in the English Church in 1849, and that the late Rev. T. Chamberlain, of S. Thomas', Oxford, was one of the first incumbents to adopt it.

In the early part of the sixteenth century hair was worn shorter and vestments were badly drawn.

II. Processional

The processional vestments are cassock, surplice, almuce, hood, and cope.

The Cassock

The cassock was the ordinary dress of a priest, and is not exclusively an ecclesiastical vestment. It was a long coat, generally black, sometimes lined with fur, open in front and almost reaching to the ground, with an ordinary coat sleeve and a girdle round the waist: John Palmer, New College, Oxford, 1479 (with tippet round the shoulders); Cirencester, Gloucestershire, 1480 (see p. 88). Bishops wore a scarlet cassock, a hood, and a four-cornered flexible cap, from which the modern 'mortar-board' is derived; this cap is, however, rarely found on brasses.

The Surplice

The surplice was a loose white linen vestment, put on over the head, and reaching to the knees. It was shorter than the alb, lacked ornament, and was made with large open sleeves: Richard Harward, 1493, S. Cross, Winchester (see p. 88); John Mason, Temple Church, Bristol, *c.* 1460. The latter is a palimpsest, depicting a lady in widow's costume on the reverse.

The Almuce

The almuce, or aumuce, which was introduced in the thirteenth century, was originally a fur hood with long ends hanging down to the knees in front. It was similar to the stole, except that it was made of



NAME UNKNOWN, c. 1480,
CIRENCESTER

A priest in a cassock.



RICHARD HARWARD, 1493,
S. CROSS, WINCHESTER

In cassock, surplice, almuce, and
D.D. cap. He was master of S. Cross
Hospital.

fur instead of silk, but it gradually developed into a cape. The almuze was generally made of grey fur, and met across the breast; the lower edge was fringed with fur tails.

Till morning fair
Came forth, with pilgrim steps in amice
(? aumuce) gray.

Milton (*Paradise Regained*, iv. 426).

Henry Sampson, Tredington, Worcestershire, 1482;
Richard Harward, D.D., S. Cross, Winchester, 1493
(see p. 88).

The Hood

The hood was originally a covering for the head. It was usually attached by a rosette or button to the left breast, and hung round the back and over the right shoulder like a cape: W. Lawnder, Northleach, 1530. In course of time silk was used instead of cloth or fur, of which it was originally made: when it ceased to fulfil its purpose as a covering for the head it was used solely to denote the degree of the wearer. Dorchester, Oxon., 1510 (see p. 115); David Lloyde, All Souls, Oxford, 1510 (see p. 110).

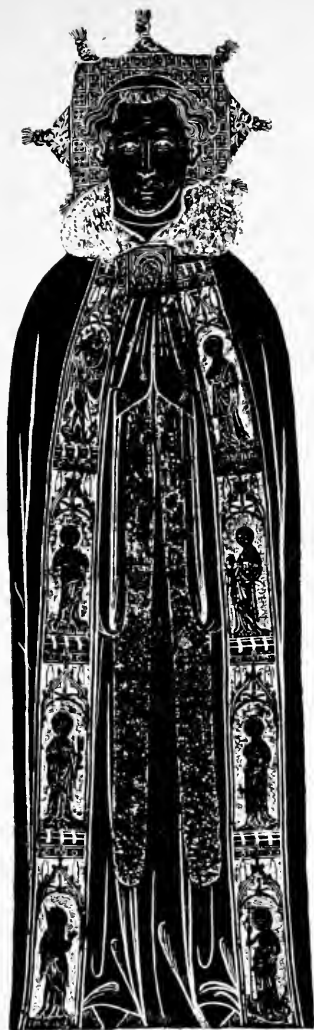
The Cope

The chief processional vestment was the cope, a semicircular, sleeveless mantle, or cloak, reaching to the feet, opening in front and fastened at the breast with a metal clasp (*morse*). The cope was worn over the other vestments and was therefore

the most ornate. It was generally enriched with orphreys representing saints, Tudor roses or other decorative emblems. There is a handsome specimen at Ringwood, Hants, 1416, to John Prophete, Dean of Hereford 1393 and of York 1407 (see p. 91). The orphreys are enriched with figures of Apostles and Saints; on the dexter S. Michael is trampling on the dragon; S. John, S. Peter, and S. Paul are also represented. S. Winifred and other saints are engraved on the sinister. The morse bears the sacred head and nimbus.

The cope is occasionally found embroidered all over, as at Winchester, 1450, and Chigwell, Essex, 1631 (see p. 101). The latter is the latest example of a post-Reformation prelate habited in pre-Reformation vestments. The deceased's initials were sometimes worked on the orphreys: John Mapleton, Broadwater, Sussex, 1432, whose initials appear alternately with the maple leaf and Tudor rose. He was Chancellor to Joan of Navarre, wife of Henry IV, and a magistrate and author, but none of his books are now in existence. Another instance is that of Thomas Key, Canon of Lincoln and Chaplain to the Bishop, Charlton-on-Otmoor, 1475; also Thomas Clerke, Horsham, 1411 (see p. 83).

The choral cope is sometimes depicted; it was quite plain and was worn by the canons and monks who formed the choir: Shillington, Beds., 1485; Bampton, Oxon., 1500. Pre-Reformation priests can be recognized by the tonsure. This is supposed to be



JOHN PROPHETE, 1416, RINGWOOD

In almuce and cope richly ornamented with figures of saints. The sacred face is engraved on the morse. He was Dean of Hereford and afterwards of York ; Keeper of the King's seal and executor under the will of Henry V.

emblematic of the crown of thorns. The earliest brass representing a priest without the tonsure is that of Thomas Leman, Southacre, Norfolk, 1534. It was in this year that the authority of the Pope was repudiated by Parliament, and the clergy then ceased to shave their heads. It is curious that a brass should show the change so soon; the inscription, however, includes a prayer for the repose of the soul, and there is a representation of the Holy Mother enthroned on a stone sedile, with the infant Saviour in her arms.

Archbishops and Bishops

When celebrating Mass, archbishops, bishops, and abbots wore the same vestments as priests, with the addition of certain distinctive ornaments, varying according to their rank, viz. the tunicle of the sub-deacon, the dalmatic of the deacon, the pallium, gloves, ring, buskins, sandals, mitre, and pastoral staff.

The Mitre

The mitre was originally a low cap made of linen or fur, with strings which hung down behind the ears; in course of time the strings were gradually widened, and were then called lappets. In the fifteenth century the mitre was made higher in the crown, and silk enriched with gold and jewels was used as a foundation; other changes were introduced until it gradually assumed the shape



ARCHBISHOP CRANLEY, 1417, NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

Showing the amice, alb, tunicle, dalmatic, stole, maniple, chasuble, pallium, mitre, and crosier; the right hand is raised in the act of blessing. He was third warden of the college and Archbishop of Dublin.

shown on the brass of Archbishop Cranley, New College, Oxford, 1417 (see p. 93).

The double peak or crown is symbolic of the cloven tongues as of fire (Acts ii. 3). At the Reformation the use of the mitre was discontinued in the English Church, and was only reintroduced in 1885 by the late Bishop King of Lincoln.

The Tunicle

The tunicle was worn by sub-deacons at Mass; it was a tight-fitting linen vestment, trimmed with fringe and reaching below the knees, the sleeves being of the usual coat shape. It was worn beneath the dalmatic by the higher orders. Thomas Cranley and John Yong, New College, Oxford (see p. 95).

The Dalmatic

This vestment, which gets its name from Dalmatia, where it was first worn in the fourth century, is one of the coronation robes of English kings. It was the distinctive vestment of a deacon, and was well adapted for the office, as it left the arms free for serving at the altar; it is a plain white linen robe, shorter than the tunicle, cut up at the sides, with wide sleeves. In later times it was enriched with embroidery, or embroidered all over (see p. 95). Episcopal dalmatics were frequently made of woollen material of the same colour as the chasuble, under



BISHOP YONG, 1526, NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

In cassock, stole, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble, and vexillum attached to the crosier; a ring is shown on each finger. He was twelfth warden of the college and titular bishop of Calipolis. The upper part is lost.

which it was worn, the sleeves and sides being trimmed with fringe.

On the memorial brass of John Byrkhed, Harrow, 1468, the orphreys of the chasuble are enriched with figures of saints, one of these being S. Lawrence, who is habited in a dalmatic and holds a gridiron in his hand; similarly S. Stephen is robed in an alb and dalmatic on the memorial of Lawrence de S. Mauro, Higham Ferrars, Northants, 1337.

The Pallium

The pallium was a white lambswool trimming (orphrey) shaped like the letter Y, usually with six purple crosses embroidered on it. This vestment hung down from the shoulders both in front and at the back, and was retained in position by gold pins, but later the ends were weighted: Thomas Cranley (see p. 93). The pallium was confined exclusively to archbishops, being conferred upon them at their consecration by the Pope; the archbishop journeying to Rome in person—except under very unusual circumstances, when a deputy went on his behalf—to receive it from the pontiff's hands. Until thus invested he was debarred from exercising the more important functions of his office. The pallium is always worn by the Pope when singing the Pontifical Mass. This vestment was buried with its owner. It is interesting to notice that this ceremony of presentation has only been twice witnessed in England since Cardinal Pole was

invested in 1558. In 1892 Archbishop Vaughan received the pallium from the hands of Archbishop Stonor, and in 1911 Archbishop Hlsley was invested at S. Chad's, Birmingham.

The Gloves

Gloves do not appear to have been worn in England before the eleventh century, when they were imported from Germany. At that time they were rare and costly and were worn only by ecclesiastics and the nobility. Episcopal gloves were first made of white knitted silk, and were enriched with jewels at the back, but subsequently they were dyed to correspond with the colours of the Church seasons, and the middle finger of the right hand was generally omitted in order to display the episcopal ring, which was usually set with sapphires. The gloves of William of Wykeham are preserved in the Warden's Lodgings, New College, Oxford. They are made of red silk, the sacred monogram being embroidered on the back. Gloves and the ring were always worn at Mass and upon other solemn occasions. Thomas Cranley and John Yong (see pp. 93, 95) wear their rings on the centre joints of the fingers, this custom—introduced into England by Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI—lasted for about a hundred years.

The Buskins

The buskins, or gaiters, were made of linen or silk, and the sandals, or slippers, were often richly

adorned with jewels and ornamented with embroidery : Thomas Cranley (see p. 93).

The Crozier

The crozier, or pastoral staff, is the symbol of office of archbishops and bishops. It is generally carried by their chaplains, although they sometimes bear it themselves. The staff is made of ebony or cedar, the lower end terminating with a pointed ferrule and the head is usually ornamented with fine metal and jewels (see pp. 93, 95 ; only the arms of the cross now remain). A small banner known as the vexillum was frequently attached to the head ; this custom originated in the time of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor of Rome, and probably owes its origin to the ensign of the Roman Legion. It is shown on the brass of Bishop Yong, New College, Oxford, 1526 (see p. 95).

The Rochet

The rochet, a white linen coat similar in shape to a cassock, forms part of the outdoor habit of a bishop, and is, strictly speaking, not a liturgical vestment. It is worn by some bishops in the pulpit. After the Reformation the sleeves were gradually enlarged and eventually detached, they were then either tied or buttoned to the chimere, and ruffs were added round the wrists. It was first worn in the ninth century. Bishop Geste, Salisbury Cathedral, 1578 (see p. 99) : this example shows the sleeves of the rochet. The Bishop carries a



Edmundus Geste latic theologus professor, cathedralis, episcopi Rossensis
 meritis laudabiliter summa sermone argenti moneta illustratus, summo plusquam
 diuinitatem perfunditus est potius vero quam a serenissima regina Elizabetha
 tractatus quinquaginta huius episcopatus sermone ad dei gloriam honoratam
 ad ecclesie edificationem fructualem, ad suam commendationem egregie manifestum
 magno suo comodo et maiore virtute suorum vitam laudabilem cum insigni opere
 committens, bonorum quae habuit neque nulla neque minus magnam partem cogna-
 tis et amicis, maioribus pauperibus, maximam famulis domesticis legavit. Et
 ingratum optatumque librorum bonorum, quantum huius lina capere bibliotheca
 potest perpetuo studiolum suum in hac ecclesia conservandam destinavit huius
 igitur ornamento et doctrinam et boni et praesuli optimo die servari Anno domini
 1578. statibus vero suis 63. lina per defuncto Edmundus Geste Archiepiscopus
 illius tribuuntur executor. hoc monumentum ad tanti viri memoriam retinendam
 ad quam in illis observantem conservandam posuit.

BISHOP GESTE, 1578, SALISBURY

In rochet with lawn sleeves, chimere, and scarf, with walking-
 stick. He was high almoner to Queen Elizabeth, and took a
 prominent part in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer
 in 1559.

walking-stick instead of the pastoral staff; this is probably due to the fact that he is depicted in outdoor costume. He was High Almoner to Queen Elizabeth and took a prominent part in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer under that Queen in 1559.

Henry Robinson, Queen's College, Oxford, 1616, is shown in rochet, scarf, ruffs, and skull-cap, with crozier and vexillum.

The Chimere

The chimere, like the rochet, forms part of a bishop's outdoor dress. It came into use in the fourteenth century. It is a black or scarlet sleeveless habit somewhat full at the back and open in front: Archbishop Harsnett, Chigwell, Essex, 1631 (see p. 101); Bishop Geste (p. 99).

Canons

Canons wore the cassock, gown, cloak, hood, and a cap which was generally pointed.

Canons of Windsor wore the mantle of the Order of the Garter. This was a blue robe lined with white taffeta. S. George's cross was embroidered on the left shoulder to distinguish it from other mantles; the earliest example is found at North Stoke, Oxon., *c.* 1370 (the head unfortunately is lost). Magdalen College, Oxford, has a later one to Arthur Cole, S.T.B. (Bachelor Sacred Theology), President of the College, 1558. He is habited in cassock, surplice, almuce with pendent tails, and the mantle of the Order, which is fastened by a morse and a



ARCHBISHOP HARSNETT, 1631, CHIGWELL

In rochet, trimmed lace across the chest, chimere, embroidered cope, mitre, and pastoral staff. The figure is bordered with an inscription. He was archbishop of York. This is the last instance of a post-Reformation prelate habited in pre-Reformation vestments.



hic jacet corpus venerabilis patris magistri archidiaconi Cole sacre theologie
 baccalarii Canonici collegii regii in castro de Wintonie et huius Collegii
 presidentis qui obiit 13 Julii 1558. Anus ante promissionem huius sacre

CANON COLE, S.T.B., 1558, MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

In cassock, surplice, almuze, and mantle of the Order of the Garter, with badge on left breast. He was president of the college.

long cordon, reaching almost to the ground (see p. 102). This cloak is still worn by the Prelate, Chancellor, and Registrar of the Order, as well as by the Bishops of Oxford and Winchester and the Dean of Windsor.

Post-Reformation

As already stated, great alterations in ecclesiastical costume took place at the Reformation. The clergy adopted ordinary lay attire, wearing the doublet, hose, long robe, and sleeveless gown (Hugh Johnson, Hackney, 1618). John Wythines, D.D., Battle, Sussex, 1615 (see p. 104), is represented in academic cap, cassock, gown open in front with long hanging false sleeves, ruffs, and a broad silk scarf encircling the neck and reaching almost to the feet in front; this scarf was worn by Doctors of Divinity and Heads of Colleges. He carries a book in his right hand and wears a massive ring on his thumb. He was Fellow of Brasenose College and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and for forty-two years Dean of Battle. He died at the age of eighty-four. The Latin inscription at the foot of the brass reads: 'I have lived whilst I was willing; and I was willing, whilst thou was willing, O Christ. Life was neither short nor long to me—I live for thee, I die for thee, for thee, O Christ, shall I arise—Dying and living I am thine and remain so.' The scroll at the head reads: 'My soul wearies of my life, I desire to be set free and be with Christ.'



JOHN WYTHINES, D.D., 1615, BATTEL

In college cap, ruff, doublet, gown with long false sleeves, and scarf. He was Dean of Battel and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University.

At Queen's College, Oxford, Henry Airey, 1616, is represented in skull-cap, gown, hood, scarf, and ruff at the neck and wrists. In the seventeenth century the clergy are sometimes represented standing in their pulpits: Hugh Johnson, Hackney, Middlesex, 1618.



SIMON MARCHEFORD, 1442, HARROW

A demi-figure in cassock, tippet, and hood. He was canon of Sarum and rector of Harrow.

III. Academic

As might be expected, there are a larger number of brasses of priests in academic costume in Oxford and Cambridge than elsewhere, the two Universities having not less than twenty-five examples.

The costume generally consists of a cassock with tippet and hood, but owing to the absence of colour it is difficult to distinguish the various degrees: Simon Marcheford, Harrow, 1442 (see p. 105). Sometimes a gown with bell sleeves was worn over the cassock as at Broxbourne, Herts., *c.* 1510—a label on this brass is inscribed with a text taken from Psalm li. 1 (see p. 107); Hugo Humfray, M.A., S.T.B., Barcheston, Warwick, 1530. Doctors of Law or of Divinity wore a cassock, over which was a long sleeveless habit reaching to the ground with an opening for the hands in front; a tippet or large cape made of fur, or of cloth trimmed with fur, similar to the almuce but without the long ends, was worn round the shoulders, with a hood over—the latter is generally indistinct, except when the figure is engraved in profile. A pointed round cap (*pileus*) (see p. 112) or a plain skull-cap covered the head (see p. 108). Thomas Hylle, New College, Oxford, 1468, Professor of Sacred Theology and Fellow of the College, holds a Tau cross upon which the five wounds are depicted (see p. 108); Nicholas Wotton, 1482, S. Helen's, Bishopsgate.

The robes of Bachelors of Divinity were similar to those of a Doctor with the exception that their outer habit had two openings for the arms instead of one. Caps are not shown, and the hood is sometimes omitted: John Bloxham, S.T.B. (*Sacrae Theologiae Bacularius*), Merton, *c.* 1387 (see p. 109).

Masters and Bachelors of Arts and other Faculties



NAME UNKNOWN, c. 1510, BROXBOURNE

Priest in academic costume, consisting of cassock, gown
with bell sleeves trimmed fur, tippet, and hood.



THOMAS HYLLE, S.T.P., 1468, NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD
 Showing the D.D. gown and skull-cap, cassock, and tippet,
 with Tau cross in his hands. He was a fellow of the college.



JOHN BLOXHAM AND JOHN WHYTTON, 1387,
MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

John Bloxham (enlarged figure) in B.D. gown, tippet, and hood; he was warden of the college.

John Whytton in cassock, tippet, and hood; he was rector of Wood Eaton and a benefactor of the college.

The four lower leaves on the shaft are lost; they have been restored in the illustration.

wore the cassock, gown with long pointed sleeves, cape, and hood lined or edged with fur. Walter Wake, New College, Oxford, 1451; David Lloyde, All Souls, Oxford, 1510.



DAVID LLOYDE, LL.B., AND THOMAS BAKER, 1510,
ALL SOULS, OXFORD

David Lloyde (dexter) in cassock, gown with deep sleeves, tippet, and hood.

Thomas Baker, scholar of Civil Law, in cassock with belt round waist, gown trimmed fur, and civilian cloak and hood.

Undergraduates wore a cassock, gown with large fur sleeves, and a civilian's cloak which fastened on the left shoulder, also a hood and a belt round the waist: Thomas Baker, Scholar of Civil Law, All

Souls, Oxford, 1510 (see p. 110). This costume presents a strong contrast to the unpicturesque attire of the modern undergraduate.

Post-Reformation

After the Reformation some changes were made in academic costume. The neck ruff and doublet were adopted: the latter was a tight-sleeved, short-skirted coat, stuffed out in front with horse-hair, giving a ridged effect. Over this a long gown with large coat-shape sleeves was worn. In the illustration—that of Antoine Aylworth, New College, Oxford, 1619 (see p. 112)—the doctor's cap and hood are shown, whilst the four top buttons and the cuffs of the doublet are visible under the gown. He was a Fellow of his College, and Regius Professor of Medicine in the University.

In S. Aldate's Church, Oxford, the brass of Nicholas Roope, B.A., 1613, of Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College), shows the B.A. hood as now worn. The present-day M.A. hood is also engraved on a brass in the same church—it commemorates Griffith Owen of Christ Church, 1607; and another in S. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, 1580, commemorates William Smithus, who is depicted kneeling at a Litany desk, with cushion and fringe—the latter was so typical of that period.

At S. Michael's Church, Oxford, 1617, we find an undergraduate of Exeter College wearing a sleeveless gown, similar to that now worn, but more

pointed on the shoulders; his habit has tight



ANTOINE AYLWORTH, 1619, NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

In post-Reformation academic costume, showing D.D. cap, ruff, hood, doublet, and gown. He was Regius Professor of Medicine and physician to Queen Elizabeth.

sleeves with turn-back cuffs, probably of linen or lace with a vandyke edge, and he wears a wide neck

ruff. He is represented as standing in an oblong rostrum, apparently 'disputing' in the Schools for his degree; his right hand is held up and a finger extended as if in exposition, and he holds a book in his left hand.

IV. Monastic

There are about twenty-six monastic brasses in England; they include abbots, priors, monks, friars, abbesses, nuns, and vowesses.

Abbots are generally robed in episcopal vestments. At S. Albans there is a very handsome brass to the memory of Thomas de la Mare, *c.* 1360 (see p. 114). This is said to be the finest Flemish brass in England, but only the centre panel is shown in the illustration. The position of the hands is unusual on English brasses. At Dorchester, Oxon., *c.* 1510 (see p. 115), there is a plate to Sir Richard Bewfforeste, who is habited in the cloak of the Austinian Canons, which is open in front and shows the surplice and cassock; he also wears the almuce, hood, and bears the pastoral staff, which is ornamented with a Tudor rose in the head. These are the usual processional vestments of monks, but abbots are rarely represented in them. Another example is found at South Creak, Norfolk, 1509.

The finest English brass to the memory of an ecclesiastic is that of Prior Nelond, Cowfold, Sussex, 1433. The canopy is a beautiful specimen of the work of the period. The shafts, pinnacles, niches,



ABBOT DE LA MARE, 1360, S. ALBANS

In mitre, amice, alb, chasuble; the apparels of the sandals form a cross. The hands are crossed and droop, a token of humility. He was a relative of Sir Peter de la Mare, the first Speaker of the House of Commons.



ABBOT SIR RICHARD BEWFFORESTE, 1510, DORCHESTER, OXON.
 In cassock, surplice, almuce, hood, and monk's cloak ;
 he bears a pastoral staff.

tabernacle, and flying buttresses make it an unrivalled example of mediaeval art. The two saints represented are S. Pancras—the boy martyr—on the dexter, and S. Thomas à Becket on the sinister, whilst the Holy Mother and Child occupy the seat of honour under the tabernacle. The prior is garbed in a monk's cloak and hood. He was the twenty-fifth prior of the Cluniac Abbey of S. Pancras at Lewes, and also rector of Cowfold (see frontispiece).

Monks were generally poor, and brasses commemorating their memories are rare. Chaucer, however, refers in the *Canterbury Tales* to a monk who wore

His sleeves purfiled [trimmed] at the hond
With gris [an expensive fur] and that the fyneste
of a lond

And for to festne his hood under his chinn
He hadde of gold ywrought a curious pinn.

The majority of the memorials of the humbler members of the monastic orders, together with the chapels in which they were placed, were destroyed by King Edward VI's commissioners.

The monastic habit generally worn was the cassock—the colour varying according to the order—with a cowl or hood and, in the case of the Benedictine Order, a long loose gown with a deep hanging sleeve similar to that of a surplice: Robert Beauner, S. Albans, *c.* 1470 (see p. 117); he holds a bleeding heart in his hands.



Et iam frater Robertus Mauger quondam linc. episcopi monachus qui diligenter scripsit
voluminis. Ultra ministrabat in multis officiis manibus et muneribus conuenit monasterii
scripti. Vnde in Officiis. Et in prelo. Equorum. Professorum. et Informum. Et in
aliis laboratorum. Hic in conuenit pro cuius aia pueris caritatem suam pars dignum
ad eandem aliamque vultum dicit deum cuius ut conuenit tibi suum. Verum peccatorum.

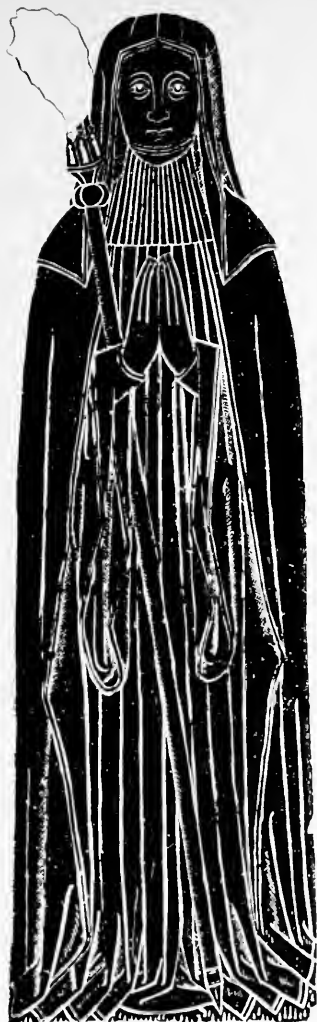
ROBERT BEAUNER, c. 1470, S. ALBANS

A monk in cassock, tippet, hood, and gown with deep sleeves, worn only by the Benedictines; he holds a bleeding heart in his hands.

The Abbess

Only two brasses remain to the memory of abbesses: one at Elstow, Beds., the birthplace of John Bunyan; and the other at Denham, Bucks. Both date from the earlier half of the sixteenth century.

These figures are robed in the costume usually worn by widows, consisting of mantle, kirtle with tight sleeve, pleated barbe over chin, and veil. Elizabeth Hervy, Elstow, 1530, holds a pastoral staff, the head of which is lost (see p. 119); she was elected abbess in 1520. Nuns were similarly garbed, but without the pastoral staff. The Elstow nunnery was of the Benedictine Order; it was founded by Judith, niece of William the Conqueror. At Frenze, Norfolk, 1519, and Shalstone, Bucks., 1540, are figures in mourning habit representing vowesses, i.e. widows who had entered a convent under a vow of perpetual widowhood. The following inscription on the shroud brass of John Goodryngton, Appleton, Berks., 1518, tells of his widow becoming a vowess: 'For Dorathe his wyfe which aft' his dethe toke relygyon in ye monastery of Syon' (see p. 137). This monastery was founded by Henry V at Isleworth, 1414. It is now one of the seats of the Duke of Northumberland.



ELIZABETH HERVY. *c.* 1530, ELSTOW

An abbess in veil head-dress, barbe, kirtle, mantle. The head of the pastoral staff is lost.

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS BRASSES

Royal Brasses

WIMBORNE MINSTER, Dorset, contains the only example in England of a brass commemorating



KING ETHELRED, c. 1440, WIMBOURNE

He is depicted in royal crown, ermine tippet, and mantle.
He lost his life fighting against the Danes.

a king—that of Ethelred, king and martyr, brother of Alfred the Great. It was laid down

about 1440, but was restored at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when a new inscription was added. The king is represented crowned, bearing the sceptre (which, unfortunately, is imperfect) and robed in a long tunic with tight sleeves, with a cloak and an ermine tippet over all. The inscription gives 873 as the date of the king's death, but authorities differ on this point; it is generally considered to have taken place a year earlier.

At Elsing, Norfolk, on the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, 1347, the figure of Edward III is represented in one of the niches of a side shaft. The king is crowned, holds a drawn sword in his right hand, and wears a jupon charged with the arms of England and France. Offa, King of Mercia, is similarly depicted on the memorial of Abbot de la Mare, S. Albans.

Legal

The costume worn by judges at the present day dates back to the early period when disputes which were too complicated for the unlearned barons to decide were remitted to the priests, whose superior education enabled them to arrive at more just decisions.

The judge's gown was originally a cope, whilst the black cap which is assumed when pronouncing the extreme penalty of the law was the biretta (or cap worn by priests). The bands originated in the Elizabethan ruff. In the seventeenth century



JUDGE COTTESMORE, 1439, BALDWIN BRIGHTWELL
In coif, cassock, gown, hood, and mantle which buttons
on the right shoulder.



JOHN REDE, 1404. CHECKENDON]

Serjeant-at-law ; in fur-lined robe with coat sleeve and hood.

wigs were generally worn; those of bishops and judges were plain and powdered, whilst civilians of rank assumed long flowing curls. The latter have long since gone out of fashion, but judges and



A NOTARY, NAME UNKNOWN, c. 1510,
NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

In cassock, belt, long robe with open sleeves, penner, and ink-horn. The head is lost.

barristers continue to wear wigs in the Law Courts. The S.S. collar is still worn by the Lord Chief Justice.

The brass of Judge Cottesmore, Baldwyn Brightwell, 1439 (see p. 122), the eighth oldest brass to a judge in England, depicts him in a close cap

(*coif*) covering the tonsure, wearing a tippet, hood, and cassock, and a long plain gown with loose sleeves; a mantle which buttons on the right shoulder falls in folds over the left arm and leaves the right side exposed: Sir Thomas Urswyk, Dagenham, Essex, 1479, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, is similarly garbed, with the exception of the coif, which is not shown (see p. 68).

Serjeants-at-law wore the coif, tunic with silk girdle, a long fur-lined robe, and a silk hood, but no gown. Checkendon, Oxon., 1404 (see p. 123); Harefield, Middlesex, 1544.

Notaries wore a long robe with open sleeves, and a belt at the waist from which was suspended the ink-horn and pen-case (penner). This office is of remote origin, the duties involved being the drafting of legal documents and keeping records of the Law Courts. New College, Oxford, *c.* 1510 (see p. 124). There is an interesting brass at Llanbeblig, Carnarvonshire, 1500, which depicts a recumbent figure with a penner at his side.

Knights of the Garter

This order of chivalry was founded by Edward III. There are only six brasses of Knights of the Garter now remaining, that of Sir Simon de Ffelbrigge, at Felbrigg, Norfolk, 1416, who was standard-bearer to Richard II, being one of the earliest (see p. 24). He is in complete plate armour, and bears in his right hand the royal banner charged

with the arms of Edward the Confessor, impaling those of England and France. Sir Simon fought at Agincourt, and probably accompanied his monarch on that memorable occasion when Wat Tyler was killed and the king rode courageously forward, crying out, 'I will be your leader.' He received the order in the first year of Henry V's reign; the garter is shown on his memorial strapped round the left knee. He married a Bohemian princess, daughter of the Duke of Teschen; this accounts for the shield, bearing the arms of Bohemia, which is hung on the central shaft: the fetterlocks just below it are the badge of the House of York. A similar brass is that of Sir Thomas Camoys, Trotton, Sussex, 1419, who commanded the left wing at Agincourt; he is wearing the S.S. collar. His wife was Elizabeth, widow of Hotspur, and daughter of Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March. (She is supposed to have been the original of Shakespeare's 'Gentle Kate' in *Henry IV*.) The slab of Sussex marble in which this brass is inserted is said to be the largest ever brought from the ancient quarries at Petworth; it measures nine feet by four feet six inches.

The memorial of Sir Thomas Bullen, Earl of Ormonde, Hever, Kent, 1538 (see p. 127), is unique, being the only example of a brass displaying the full insignia of the order. He wears a jewelled coronet, a surcoat reaching to the knees, and a blue cloth mantle lined with scarlet, which fastens



HERE LIETH SIR THOMAS BULLEN
 KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER
 EARLE OF WILSHIRE AND EARLE OF ORMOND
 WHICHE DECEASED THE 12
 DAY OF MARCH IN THE 1ERE
 OF OUR LORD 1538

SIR THOMAS BULLEN, K.G., 1538, HEVER

Showing the full insignia of the Order of the Garter ; including jewelled coronet, surcoat, mantle, badge on left breast, collar of garters, hood over right shoulder, and garter round left knee.

in front with cord and tassels. Over the right shoulder is a small scarlet cape, to which a long scarf is attached. On the left breast is the Star of the Order consisting of a shield charged with S. George's cross encircled by the motto. Round the neck is the collar of garters, with a Tudor rose in the centre of each; the garter is also buckled below the left knee. A tilting helm, surmounted with the Ormonde crest, supports his head, and his feet rest on a griffin. Sir Thomas was father of Anne Boleyn, second wife of Henry VIII. The shaded Roman letters used in the inscription were unusual at this period.

Knight and Priest

At S. Oswald's, Winwick, Lancashire, 1527, there is a brass to Sir Peter Legh, knight and priest. He is depicted bareheaded in plate armour, with a collar of mail (*hausse col*) round the neck and a sword at his side. Over the armour is a chasuble embroidered with his coat of arms. After the death of his wife Sir Peter entered holy orders, and this explains the unusual combination of ecclesiastical and knightly costume.

A somewhat similar practice was occasionally followed by knights who held civic office. Sir John Crosbie, S. Helen's, E.C., 1475, is represented with an aldermanic gown over his armour.

Yeomen of the Guard

This costume is still worn by the Beefeaters at the Tower of London, Buckingham Palace, and Windsor Castle. It was first worn in the days of Henry VII, and consists of a loose blouse with sleeves slashed, ruff round the neck, doublet with short skirt, and knee-breeches. A rose and crown, the badge of the Tudors, is embroidered on the breast of the blouse. The halberd, a combination of axe and spear mounted on a pole five or six feet long, completes this picturesque attire.

Only two or three brasses of Yeomen of the Guard exist; one at Winkfield, Berks., 1630, chronicles the charity of Thomas Montague, who is represented distributing bread to the poor. There is another at East Wickham, Kent, 1568.

A Yeoman of the Crown wore on the left breast a metal badge engraved with the royal crown and Tudor rose: Shottesbrooke, 1567 (see p. 53).

Serjeants-at-Arms are generally shown bearing a mace surmounted with the royal crown: Broxbourne, Herts., 1531 (see p. 130).

Civic Dignitaries

Mayors and aldermen are frequently represented on brasses. Their usual costume is the doublet and fur-lined and fur-trimmed gown with long lappet sleeves, and a mantle over, and the addition, in the case of the mayors of Oxford, of the stole



JOHN BORRELL, 1531, BROXBOURNE

Yeoman of the Crown in armour with visor open, bearing a mace surmounted with the royal crown. He was serjeant-at-arms to Henry VIII. The lower portion has been lost.

Hic iacet Radolphus Flexney Ciuitatis Oxon Aldermainus
 et Caterina eius vxor secunda ex qua liberos suscepit nouen
 filios duos Thomam scilicet et Richardū filias septem ille
 obiit 25^o decembris Anno Dñi 1578 Hæc 19^o septembris
 1567 Thomas Flexney hoc posuit.



Frateriens vdis hæc cerne viator ocellis
 Digna est hæc lacrimis tristis imago tuis
 Nempe quod es, fuim⁹, mox q^d fuim⁹ ipse futurus
 Viue memior mortis cetera mitte deo

ALDERMAN RALPH AND CATERINA FLEXNEY, 1578,
 S. MICHAEL'S, OXFORD

In gown, velvet stole, and ruff. He was M.P. for the city in 1547, and mayor four times. The lady is depicted in a square Paris head-dress, ruff round neck and wrists, mantle with short bell sleeves, kirtle with tight sleeves, and girdle round waist.

or scarf of office. Examples are found at S. Giles', Norwich, 1432, and S. John's, Norwich, 1525; S. Michael's, Oxford, 1578 (see p. 131); S. Saviour's, Dartmouth, 1635; S. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, 1574; this brass was reproduced in 1827 as a memorial to Alderman Fletcher, Mayor of Oxford, who was buried in Yarnton Church, Oxon. This is interesting as being one of the earliest attempts to revive a forgotten art.

At All Saints', Stamford, Lincs., 1442 and 1460, there is a brass to the memories of John Browne (who is standing on two wool packs) and his wife, the ancestors of Robert Browne, who founded the denomination at first called 'Brownists' and now known as 'Congregationalists'. He was a wool-merchant, and is depicted in civic robes.

Children

The possession of a large family seems to have been a qualification which ensured that a memorial brass or a monument would be laid down at death. Where children are depicted with their parents the 'quiver' is generally represented as being full. At Colan, Cornwall, 1572, the parents are kneeling at a *prie-dieu*, surrounded by thirteen sons and nine daughters. At Burnham, Bucks., *c.* 1500, and S. Mellion, Cornwall, 1551, families are represented, each with twenty-four children, whilst at Thame, Oxon., 1502, there are twenty-six children, the father

having had two wives; one plate engraved with the effigies of six sons has been lost (see p. 51).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brasses commemorating children are more numerous than at any previous period.

At Headbourne Worthy, Hants, there is a memorial representing a scholar of Winchester College, robed in a long gown, with full sleeves, tight at the wrists. He was admitted to the College in 1431, and he probably died (also seven other boys) of the plague in 1434.

At Wyrardisbury, Bucks., 1512, is the figure of a boy wearing a long gown, fur trimmed, with tight sleeves and a girdle, also a cap with ears. Another boy, Thomas Heron, aged 17, at Little Ilford, Essex, 1512, is garbed in a tunic with loose open sleeves, and penner and ink-horn hanging from a belt.

At Merstham, Surrey, 1585, a boy is depicted draped in a coat which almost reaches to the ground, and buttons at the waist, with tight sleeves, frill round the neck, and girdle at the waist to which a handkerchief is attached. This is almost identical with the costume worn to-day by the boys at the Blue Coat School.

At Henfield, Sussex, 1633 (see p. 75), a boy is depicted in the handsome costume rendered so familiar by the portraits of Van Dyck.

At S. Columb Major, Cornwall, 1590, there is a family of girls in Blue Coat costume and bonnets (see p. 38). At Little Ilford, 1630, Ann Hyde,

aged 18, is depicted in a deep pointed bodice, full sleeves, turn-back cuffs, and ribbon bows at the elbows; a full pleated skirt with sash at waist, also a ruff round the neck and a partlet. The inscription states that she died in her sleep. At Dagenham, Essex, 1479, is the only instance of a curious conical-shaped head-dress—worn by six of the daughters of Sir Thomas Urswyk; they have long flowing hair, low-necked tight-fitting kirtles, and loose belts. The cuffs of the sleeves cover their hands up to the finger-joints (see p. 68).

Representations of infants in cradles are found at Boxford, Suffolk, David Birde, aged 22 weeks, 1606—this brass measures 5 by 4 inches, and two in S. George's Chapel, Windsor, 1630 and 1633, aged 8 months and 22 weeks respectively.

There are scarcely any brasses in the United Kingdom that solely commemorate children, as they are generally represented on the same plate as their parents; but at Clynnog, Carnarvonshire, there is one to the memory of an infant, William Glynne, 1633 (see p. 135). The handsome robe, rich trimming, and flowing locks indicate the wealth of the parents, and point to the probability of his being the child of a rich cavalier. As there are very few brasses of any kind in Wales, this one is worthy of note. At Little Wittenham, Berks., 1683, an infant ten months old is commemorated. Like the one at Clynnog, it represents the child with an abundance of hair and the face of a man.

At Ypres, Belgium, 1487, three boys are depicted, two of whom are walking on stilts, whilst the other is whipping a top; an infant is also shown learning to walk with the help of a ring mounted on three



WILLIAM GLYNNE, 1633, CLYNNOG

In long robe with hanging sleeves, deep turn-down collar, and sash round waist.

legs, but instead of standing inside the ring, as is done at the present day, he holds it in front.

Shroud Brasses

These interesting but somewhat gruesome brasses form a class by themselves. The earliest examples

date from 1450 and the latest towards the end of the following century. They were generally laid down in the lifetime of the person commemorated, probably to remind him of his latter end.

The figure is generally shown as a skeleton, entwined in a shroud tied above the head and under the feet and thrown back so as to reveal the trunk. In a recess in the wall of the chancel at Handborough church, Oxon., there is an example to the memory of Alexander Belsyre, the first President of S. John's College, Oxford, 1567. New College, Oxford, has a similar specimen commemorating Thomas Flemmyng, LL.B., Fellow of the College, 1472. Another at Appleton, Berks., 1518, is illustrated on p. 137.

At Oddington, Oxon., Ralph Hamsterley, rector of the parish, Fellow of Merton and Master of University College, Oxford, is represented as an emaciated figure being eaten by worms which are issuing from various parts of the body. The space left for the insertion of the date of his death has not been filled. It is interesting to note that the elevation of Ralph Hamsterley to the Mastership of University College was the first departure from the usual custom of appointing the senior Fellow to the post; owing to this change constant friction arose during his nine years of office (1509-18), and several appeals for his removal were made to the Visitor (the Archbishop of Canterbury).

On plates commemorating husband and wife, one

figure is sometimes represented in a shroud and the other in ordinary attire ; in these cases the latter



Here lynch John Goodrynton neuborn which drested for last day
of Scowler in dū exeece finter no chate pū for his soule and
for drathie his wofe which at his dthe toke chrym in moneth of May

JOHN GOODRYNTO, 1518, APPLETON

A skeleton is represented in a shroud, which is tied
at the head and feet.

indicates the survivor. Newington, Kent, 1501 ;
Edgmond, Salop, 1533.

Women are sometimes depicted in shrouds, whilst

infants who died within a month of their birth are often shown swathed in a chrysom instead of a shroud. The chrysom was the white garment with which the priest robed the infant before anointing it with the holy oil at baptism, repeating as he did so, 'Take this white vesture for a token of the innocency which, by God's grace, in this holy Sacrament of Baptism, is given unto thee, and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, so long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocency of living, that, after this transitory life thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting' (King Edward VI's first Prayer Book, 1549). In the revised Prayer Book issued three years later this was deleted. It was customary for the child to be clothed in the chrysom for the first month subsequent to birth, the mother returning it to the priest at her purification. ('Must offer her crisome and other accustomed offerings'; *vide* rubric, 1549.) If the infant died within the month the chrysom was used instead of a shroud, long bands were wound round the body, giving it the appearance of a mummy. Chesham Bois, Bucks., *c.* 1520; Stoke Dabernon, Surrey, 1516 (see p. 139); Merstham, Surrey, 1587. When both mother and infant died at child-birth, the former is generally depicted holding the child in her arms. Blickling, Norfolk, 1512; here the mother has twins, one on each arm. Sometimes the mother is represented in bed, with a dead child on the quilt. Hurst, Berks., *c.* 1600. At S. Cross Church, Oxford,

1622, Elizabeth Franklin is lying in bed, with a chrysom at each corner of the quilt; the inscription reads: 'Who dangerously escaping death at three



ELYN BRAY, 1516, STOKE DABERNON

An infant wrapped in a chrysom and bound with bands;
a cross is shown on the head.

severall travells in childe-bed, died together with the fourth.' The earliest example of this form of memorial is found at Heston, Middlesex, *c.* 1580. On plates where children are shown with their parents, a skull or the word 'dede' is sometimes engraved

over the head of one or more of them ; this indicates that the child predeceased its parents.

Palimpsest

Possibly the most curious of all memorial brasses are those designated palimpsest. These were originally laid down to the memory of a certain individual but were subsequently taken up, re-engraved, and then used to commemorate some one else. Nearly all are post-Reformation. The damage then done to memorials and other works of art is one of the least satisfactory results of that important and far-reaching event.

After the dissolution of the monasteries the abbeys fell into decay, and any engraver who wanted a brass appears to have taken it from the nearest ruin and adapted it to his requirements; nearly all the brasses of the latter part of the sixteenth century, when removed, have been found to be engraved on the reverse side. Many of these plates appear to have been imported, probably after the sack of the French and Flemish churches by the Calvinists in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Palimpsest brasses were re-adapted in three ways :

I

Plates were re-engraved on the reverse side.

This is an important class, and there are specimens wherever brasses abound. At S. Peter's-in-the-

East, Oxford, there is an example of this style—three separate plates to the memory of Alderman Richard Atkinson, five times Mayor of Oxford, with his two wives, 1574, also two groups of children (one missing), have been cut from a Flemish plate, which records the endowments of a mass and a bequest of bread to poor people.

In the British Muséum there is a plate engraved with the emblem of S. John the Evangelist (the Eagle); on the reverse is a coat of arms. Another plate in the same collection, circular in shape and about five inches in diameter, has the half effigy of a priest surrounded by an inscription, *c.* 1460; the reverse shows a pair of compasses, probably engraved in the seventeenth century. This is supposed to have been taken from Eton College. At Winchester School is an inscription to a female goddess at the back of a memorial to a former Warden.

S. Lawrence, Reading, 1538, has a brass composed of various pieces which originally belonged to different memorials, and at the Temple Church, Bristol, *c.* 1460, there is one to the memory of a priest (in a cope), whilst a figure of a widow appears on the reverse. At West Lavington, Wilts., a brass commemorating Margaret Dautesey, 1571, has on the reverse a Latin inscription in Roman letters to the memory of Maria Dulcia, 1522.

A brass, originally laid down in Flanders, was cut into two; one portion, containing thirty-three

lines of a Flemish inscription, 1518, was fixed at Norton Disney, Lincolnshire, commemorating the Disney family, *c.* 1580; the remaining nine lines are found at West Lavington, Wiltshire. It records the endowment of a mass at the altar of S. Cornelius in a church at Middelburg, Holland, 1518.¹

Here lieth buried the bodie of Jane Fitzherbert
 second wife of Robert Fitzherbert of Tillington
 in the countie of Derby Esquier and one of the 2
 Daughters of Thomas Bellett of Lince in the 2
 countie of Stafford Esquier, W^{ch} Jane died the 27
 of October in the yere of our lorde God. 1574.

JANE FITZHERBERT, 1574, S. MARY MAGDALEN, OXFORD

On the reverse a Flemish inscription, *c.* 1500 (see p. 143).

(Reproduced by kind permission of the Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society.)

A memorial commemorating Jane Fitzherbert, 1574, is preserved in the rectory of S. Mary Magdalen, Oxford: on the reverse side is a portion of a Flemish inscription, which is divided horizontally into two panels; the letters of the upper portion are in relief, whilst those of the lower are incised.

¹ A copy of the Norton Disney portion of this inscription is given in the *Oxford Portfolio of Monumental Brasses*, Part v, Dec. 1901, and that at West Lavington in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. iv, p. 363.

Percy Manning, Esq., in an article on this brass in the *Oxford Journal of Monumental Brasses*, vol. i, p. 179, quotes and translates the Flemish words as follows:

IN VIJLANTE (?)
 ORGHELEN SP(ELEN. ?)
 METTEN-LUDEN
 TE DEELĒ. XIII
 TE WETEN II
 IN DESĒ HAU (EN ?)
 ELKE GOEDE
 VAN INGHESE (TEN ?)
 PAUWELS DA
 DACH : TEN VI

Literal Translation

In —
 to play the organ
 with hymns (or songs)
 to divide xiii
 To wit ii
 In these expenses
 Every good
 of the inhabitants
 Pauwels (a man's name)
 day : to the vi.



Reverse of brass of Jane Fitzherbert
 reproduced on p. 142

It probably relates to some bequest made by the deceased thus commemorated.

II

The old figure was used again without alteration, a new inscription and shields (if any) being added.

These brasses are less numerous than those of the previous class, but specimens are found at Bromham, Beds., *c.* 1430 (re-engraved 1535). It is supposed that this was originally laid down to one of the Woodvilles, and afterwards appropriated by the Dyve family. At Ticehurst, Sussex, Sir John Wybourne, 1490, is represented by a figure of a knight, first engraved *c.* 1370. Smaller plates, commemorating his two wives, were afterwards added. At S. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Peter Rede, 1568, is represented in complete plate armour, *c.* 1460. There are other specimens at Isleworth, Middlesex, *c.* 1450-1544, and Howden, Yorks., *c.* 1500-1621.

III

The original engraving was modified, fresh lines and shading being introduced to adapt it to contemporary fashion.

This form of palimpsest is less frequent than either of the other two. One of the best examples is to the memory of Sir Walter and Lady Curson, at Waterperry, Oxon. The original was *c.* 1440, but was subsequently altered to suit the style of armour and costume which prevailed



SIR WALTER AND LADY CURSON, 1527, WATERPERRY

Showing armour of the complete plate period (c. 1440) adapted to the mail-skirt period. The lady's costume has been similarly changed. The brass was originally laid down in the chapel of the Augustine Priors in Oxford, but at the dissolution it was removed to Waterperry.

in 1527. New head and shoulders have been added to each figure and the junction of the plates can be readily detected in the illustration (see p. 145). This alteration was essential, as in the original plate the knight was provided with a fifteenth-century round helmet. In the later example Sir Walter is represented wearing long hair, which was customary in his day. The original plate armour was retained, and notwithstanding the shading which was introduced, the earlier work can be easily recognized. The shield-shaped palettes which, in the original, protected the armpits, were transposed into pouldrons, and were engraved on the hitherto plain breastplate; and chain mail with two tuilles replaced the skirt of taces. Gussets of mail were added at the insteps, and round-toed sabbotons were substituted for the fifteenth-century pointed shoes. A fresh plate was also used for the upper portion of the lady, showing the pedimental head-dress, whilst a belt and pomander box were introduced; a gown with a longer waist, further folds, and shading were added to the skirt. The lion and the dog at the feet are both typical of the earlier period.

Another interesting example which may be seen at Chalfont S. Peter, Bucks., *c.* 1440, was appropriated as a memorial to Robert Hanson, 1545.

Individuals commemorated by more than one memorial

In some instances individuals are commemorated by more than one brass. This generally occurs when the husband and wife are buried in different churches, monuments being erected to their memory in each building.

At Childrey, Berks., there is a memorial to John Kyngeston and his wife; the former died in 1514 and was buried there. His wife, however, survived him and her remains were deposited at Shalston, Bucks., 1540, where a brass was also erected to their joint memories.

Another example is that of Bishop Robinson, 1616. One plate was laid down at Queen's College, Oxford, of which he was Provost, whilst a second was placed in Carlisle Cathedral, the seat of his bishopric. At Noke, Oxon., and Halton, Bucks., brass plates commemorate Henry Bradshawe (1553) and his wife (1598).

Ralph Hamsterley, 1518, Master of University College, Fellow of Merton, and Rector of Oddington, had brasses laid down to his memory at all those places, and one in Queen's College Chapel, Oxford, in addition; only the inscription at Queen's College and the shroud brass at Oddington remain.

Occasionally two brasses to the memory of one individual are found in one church. On the floor of the chancel at Baldwyn Brightwell, Oxon., there

is a very good brass to the memory of Judge Cottesmore and his wife, 1439; another smaller one is fixed on the north wall of the chancel. The same thing occurs at Fairford, Gloucestershire, to Sir Edmund Tame and his two wives, 1534.

At S. Columb Major there is a unique example of the same individual being twice represented on one memorial. On the upper part are the figures of John Arundel and his wife, with their two sons, whilst one of the sons is again represented below with his own wife and family (see p. 38).

Embossed Brasses

At S. Decuman's, Watchet, Somerset, are two curious and rare seventeenth-century embossed brasses, size 15" x 12", to the memories of John and Jane Windham. They represent two embossed demi-figures, set in embossed frames which bear coats of arms at the four angles. The knight wears his hair full over the ears, with moustache and pointed beard. His armour is typical of the period, but in addition he wears a broad collar. The lady wears a veil head-dress, a large ruff round her neck, a plain bodice with V-shape front finished with a ribbon bow, and very full sleeves tied above the elbows with ribbon.

Copper-plate Memorials

At Queen's College, Oxford, there are two copper plates, both evidently by the same artist: one is

a memorial to Dr. Airey, Provost of the College, and the other is to Dr. Robinson, a former Provost, and Bishop of Carlisle. They are both of the same date (1616). The lines are too fine to obtain a satisfactory rubbing. Dr. Airey is represented kneeling at an altar-tomb. In the background there is a figure of Elijah in the fiery chariot. Other portions of the plate represent Elisha talking to Gehazi, the rending of the children by bears, the casting of the meal into the cauldron, out of which a figure of Death is rising, and the healing of the waters by Elisha; a fish bearing the initials 'R. H.' is seen in the water.

Dr. Robinson is depicted in devotional attitude, holding a staff, with the vexillum in his left hand and a lighted candle in his right; Queen's College and Carlisle Cathedral are engraved on the background, whilst three dogs guarding a similar number of sheepfolds, the latter being watched by two wolves and a lion, complete the plate. The initials 'A. H.' (probably those of the engraver) appear on one of the sheep.

Iron Memorials

A few cast-iron memorials are found in various parts of the country. The earliest is probably that at Burwash, Sussex, to the memory of John Collins; it takes the form of a cross in relief, on the base of which is the following inscription: 'Orate P. Anima Ihone Coline.' It dates from about the middle of the fourteenth century.

An iron memorial decorated with gold leaf is fixed to the east end of the south aisle of S. Botolph, Aldersgate Street, London. It represents a knight, in the armour of the period, kneeling at a *prie-dieu*, with a book on the desk; a helm decorated with feathers is in the foreground. A lady in veil head-dress, wearing a pointed bodice with tight sleeves and mantle over, kneels opposite the knight; a daughter similarly attired kneels behind. The inscription reads:

‘Here under this tombe lyeth ye bodye of Dame Anne Packington, Widdow, late wife S^r John Packington, Kt: late Chirographer in the court of ye comon Please wch. Dame Anne decessed the 22nd. day of August in the yeare of our Lord God 1563.’

There is another plate at Crowhurst, Surrey, to Ane Foster, daughter of Thomas Gaynesford, 1591.

Perhaps the most beautiful iron memorial now in existence is the handsome double cross at Rotherford, Sussex, it measures 6' 3" long; the person commemorated is unknown; opinions differ with regard to its date, but it is probably late fourteenth-century work.

These memorials are uncommon and interesting, although they do not come within the scope of this book.

CHAPTER VII

EMBLEMS

THE emblems most frequently found on pre-Reformation brasses are representations of the Holy Trinity, symbols of the Evangelists, Chalice, and Hearts. In the fourteenth century the crucifix was used as an accessory (Kenton, Suffolk, 1524), but it was never employed alone,¹ the Greek or Latin cross with floriated ends being invariably used instead; this form of memorial was commonly employed to commemorate ecclesiastics. They were usually extremely beautiful, but unfortunately very few remain, the majority having been destroyed by the rough usage to which they have been subjected; their graceful outlines can now be traced only by their matrices.

At Chinnor, Oxon., *c.* 1320, the head and neck of a priest wearing the amice is superimposed at the intersection of the arms of a cross.

At Higham Ferrars there is a cross to the memory of Thomas Chichele and his wife, 1400 (parents of the founder of All Souls College, Oxford), the arms of which are enriched with scroll-work, with emblems

¹ There is a large brass showing the crucifix at S. Mary's, Lübeck.

of the Evangelists at the extremities. At the intersection of the arms is a seated figure of our Lord in glory in the act of blessing, and holding the orb. Quatrefoils enrich the base of the shaft, which rests on two steps, the inscription being beneath.

A finely proportioned but plainer cross is that of Roger Cheyne, Cassington, Oxon., *c.* 1415. In this example the extremities are ornamented with fleur-de-lis.

At Broadwater, Sussex, there is another graceful design with ends similar to the last. It rests on four steps, and is in an unusually good state of preservation (see p. 153). It is to the memory of John Corby, 1415, but it is considered that the inscription has at some time been misplaced and that the memorial commemorates Richard Toomer, 1445.¹ Others are found at Beddington, Surrey, 1425; Grainthorpe, Lincolnshire, *c.* 1400; the base of the latter rests on a rock rising out of the sea in which fish are swimming.

At Sibson, Leicestershire, 1532, our Lord is represented seated on a rainbow. The Agnus Dei—the Lamb with nimbus—bearing with its right foreleg a white banner charged with S. George's cross, symbolizes our Lord. It is found at Merton College, Oxford, *c.* 1387 (see p. 109).

The Resurrection is sometimes depicted, our Lord being generally shown rising from a tomb,

¹ See Dallaway's *History of Sussex*, vol. ii, p. 36.

bearing a cross with S. George's banner attached, and with or without soldiers around. Swansea, *c.* 1500; All Hallows', Barking, *c.* 1510; Stoke Lyne, Oxon., 1535.

The Annunciation is depicted on a brass at Fovant, Wilts., 1492; the Virgin, over whom a dove is



NAME UNKNOWN, *c.* 1500, COBHAM, SURREY

The Holy Mother and Infant repose on a bed, S. Joseph stands at the head, and three shepherds worship at the foot.

hovering, is kneeling before the angel Gabriel; a lily is generally shown on the background of these brasses.

The Adoration is found at Cobham, Surrey, *c.* 1500, where the Blessed Virgin and Child are depicted reposing on a bed, with three shepherds kneeling at the foot, and S. Joseph standing at the head; the background is occupied by farm buildings,

an ox, and an ass (see p. 154). At All Hallows', Barking, on a brass of Flemish origin commemorating Andrew Evyngar and wife, is a figure of the Virgin of Pity seated on a rich bracket, bearing the wounded Body; the Holy Mother and Child are placed under a rich canopy on the brass of Prior Nelond at Cowfold, Sussex (see frontispiece), and Cobham, Kent, 1395.

The Holy Trinity

Emblems representing the Holy Trinity are frequent, the most ancient being the shield-shape design represented at Cowfold, Sussex (see frontispiece), and at Northleach, Gloucestershire. This gives a double reading and teaches that the three Persons of the Trinity are one and yet distinct. It may be described as the Athanasian Creed symbolized.

At Beaumaris, Anglesea, *c.* 1530, God the Father is represented as an old man, enthroned, and holding a crucifix; the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove with wings displayed hovers over the figure. Sometimes the dove is omitted: Hildersham, Camb., *c.* 1379. A seated figure of the Deity holding the soul of the deceased, with attendant angels, forms a portion of the enrichment of Abbot de la Mare's memorial (see p. 114).

The triangle is frequently used. It indicates the equality of the three Persons of the Trinity.

A circle within the triangle teaches that the three Persons of the Godhead are not only equal,

but that they are likewise eternal—without beginning or end.

The three circles intertwined indicate that each Person of the Trinity is distinct, yet one eternal God.

Three petals in one leaf signify that the three Persons form one Godhead. S. Patrick is said to have introduced the shamrock as an emblem of the Trinity, and hence its adoption as the national badge of Ireland.

The flyflot is a mysterious figure or ornament; it is found in many parts of the world, and was used as a religious emblem in India and China ten centuries before the Christian era. It may also be seen in the catacombs at Rome, on monuments dating from the third century. It is employed as an ornament on the guige of Sir John D'Aubernoun's brass (see p. 13), and it is used on the orphrey of the amice of Richard de Hakebourne (see p. 79) and on the alb at Shottesbrooke (see p. 43).

An emblem rare in England, but common on the Continent, is a trefoil within a circle out of which a hand proceeds in the attitude of blessing. The hand is also found without the trefoil and circle.

The instruments of the crucifixion, and the five wounds, are sometimes met with, as at S. Cross, Winchester, 1382; Cobham, Kent, 1506.

The sacred initials 'I.H.S.' and 'I.H.C.' are generally used as a decoration on the orphreys of vest-

ments, and they are also stamped on eucharistic wafers.

The emblems of the Evangelists—S. Matthew, an angel; S. Mark, a winged lion; S. Luke, a winged ox; S. John, an eagle—are used as ornament at the four angles of inscriptions when the latter surround the central figure. These emblems have symbolized the Evangelists from the early days of the Christian era; they are founded upon the glowing imagery of the prophet Ezekiel (i. 10) and S. John the Divine (Revelation iv. 7. Thame, 1502 (see p. 51). On brasses these emblems are usually placed in the following order: upper dexter, S. Matthew; upper sinister, S. John; lower dexter, S. Mark; lower sinister, S. Luke. After the thirteenth century the positions of S. John and S. Mark are generally reversed.

On many brasses figures of the apostles and saints are introduced as ornaments; they are usually placed on brackets, with canopies over, as on that of Prior Nelond (see frontispiece), where S. Pancras is shown on the dexter and S. Thomas à Becket on the sinister. Figures of the apostles and saints are also frequently embroidered on the orphreys of the cope (see p. 91) and generally bear some distinctive mark. The following is a list of those usually found on brasses¹:

S. Andrew, who is believed to have been crucified,

¹ For list of places where illustrations can be found see Macklin's *Brasses of England*, p. 335.

is generally represented by a cross saltire ; or with two fishes in his hand. Cf. S. John vi. 8-9.

S. Bartholomew is said to have been flayed alive, and is symbolized by a knife or an open book.

S. James the Great, the pioneer of missions, is indicated bearing a wallet, staff, or shells.

S. James the Less usually carries a club or saw, thus showing the instruments employed in his martyrdom.

S. John : tradition states that an attempt was made on his life by means of a poisoned cup, but that he expelled the poison from it in the form of a serpent. He is represented with a chalice from which a serpent is issuing.

S. John the Baptist : by a lamb and book. At Biggleswade, 1481, angels are depicted carrying a charger on which is the head of S. John.

S. Jude, who, according to tradition, was beaten to death with a club,—by a club or ship.

S. Matthias was stoned and afterwards beheaded—he bears a halberd, hatchet, or sword.

S. Paul holds a book inscribed ‘ spiritus gladius ’ or a sword in his hand.

S. Peter, who was crucified, bears an inverted cross or two keys ; a cock is also sometimes employed.

S. Philip is indicated by a spear, a Tau cross (a double cross), or a basket with loaves and fishes. Cf. S. John vi. 7.

S. Simon, martyred by sawing asunder, holds a saw, an oar, or a fish.

S. Thomas, who was pierced to death by arrows,
by an arrow or a spear.



WILLIAM AND ANNES COMPLYN, 1498, WEEK

S. Christopher is represented carrying the infant Saviour, on his shoulder, across a stream. A similar brass is found at Aix-la-Chapelle.

S. Barnabas holds the Gospel of S. Matthew
and three stones.

S. Stephen, robed in a dalmatic and carrying five stones.

S. Christopher. At Week, Hants, 1498, there is a curious brass representing S. Christopher carrying the infant Saviour on his shoulders across a river; the Saint is leaning on a staff and the Infant holds a cross in His right hand, the left being raised in the act of blessing; a fish is seen swimming in the stream. This is the conventional method of illustrating this tradition (see p. 159).

S. George is always shown in armour on horseback slaying a dragon.

S. Michael the Archangel is represented as trampling on a dragon. Cf. Revelation xii. 7 (see p. 91).

S. Agnes is represented by a lamb reposing on a book.

S. Anna is always accompanied by the Blessed Virgin, whom she is instructing (see p. 91).

Chalice Brasses

The chalice brass is a common form of memorial for priests; the chalice is generally enriched with handsome decoration and the bowl is usually shallow, with a wide opening.

In cases where the wafer is graven it is generally shown stamped with the sacred monogram, and standing on its edge within the bowl of the chalice. Rendham, Suffolk, 1523.

Priests were buried in their vestments, and a pewter chalice and paten were placed on their

breasts. This custom was discontinued at the Reformation: North Mimms, Herts., *c.* 1360, the chalice is placed on the breast under the hands and the wafer is not depicted; Shorne, Kent, 1519, with wafer.

Hearts

Occasionally hearts were introduced, but generally before the Reformation. Subsequently they were usually winged or pierced. At Saltwood, Kent, 1496, a heart is shown, borne by an angel with nimbus, robed in an amice and alb and encircled with clouds. Hearts pierced and bleeding, with the sacred monogram, upheld by two hands issuing from clouds occasionally occur, as at Lillingstone Lovell, Bucks., 1446 (see p. 162). Sometimes these memorials indicate that only the heart of the deceased was buried beneath the memorial, the body being interred elsewhere; this frequently happened when the individual commemorated died abroad.

At Stoke-in-Teignhead, Devon, 1641, there is a 'heart' memorial which bears an inscription in French. This is an interesting example of that language as it was written in the seventeenth century (see p. 163). Skull, cross-bones, scythe, hour-glass, and a heart pierced with wings are all depicted on this brass. Winged cherubs were also employed after the Reformation (see p. 58). A somewhat unusual emblem is found at S. Sepulchre's, Northampton, 1640, viz. two hands clasped; the

lines beneath the plate explain it (see p. 57). Keys and scissors when found on memorial brasses are generally used to denote women, but these features are more frequent on sepulchral slabs than on brasses.



Incipit dñs ioh̄es merstun quōdam Rector
hui' ecclie Qui obiit xx die mensis february. aũs
dñi. m. cccc. xlvj. In anno p̄ncipat' dñi. m. c.

JOHN MERSTUN, 1446, LILLINGSTONE LOVELL

Hands issuing from clouds support a bleeding heart, on
which is inscribed the sacred monogram.

At Shepton Mallet, Somerset, 1649, there is a
brass which represents the husband of Joan Strode
endeavouring with one hand to divert a dart which

Death is aiming at his wife; whilst with the other hand he offers her the crown of life.

At Marsworth, Bucks., 1681, Edmund West is depicted stricken by Death, and surrounded by his weeping family.

At Broughton Gifford, Wilts., 1620, a herald, garbed in a tabard, bears a number of spears to



ELIZABETH FURLONG, 1641, STOKE-IN-TEIGNHEAD

A French inscription; a skull, cross-bones, and hour-glass are depicted on this brass.

which are attached small shields; from these Death has selected the one charged with the arms of the deceased. This is Flemish workmanship.

Figures of Death with darts are confined to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Hunsdon, Herts., 1591; Harlow, Essex, 1602. Skulls, cross-bones, hour-glasses, lanterns, pickaxes, scythes, and spades all belong to this period and were employed on stone memorials up to the middle of the nineteenth century. The skull depicted on Benjamin Green-

wood's memorial (see p. 58) is encircled with a laurel wreath. At Middleton, Lancashire, 1618, Richard Assheton holds a skull in his hand.



Hic iacet Walterus Beauchamp
 filius Willelmi Beauchamp militis
 cuius anima paret deus Amen



WALTER BEAUCHAMP, c. 1430, CHECKENDON

The soul is represented as being carried to heaven
 by angels habited in amice and alb.

On a brass at Checkendon, Oxon., c. 1430, the soul is represented by a nude three-quarter figure enveloped in clouds, whilst angels bear it to heaven.

At Hever, Kent, 1419, the six-winged seraphim are shown supporting the head of the deceased, 'with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly' (Isaiah vi. 2).

CHAPTER VIII

INSCRIPTIONS

INSCRIPTIONS on brasses vary greatly, no less than three languages—Norman-French, Latin, and English, and three forms of letters—Lombardic, Old English, and Roman, having been employed at various periods.

Different Types of Letters

Lombardic

The earliest style of lettering was the Lombardic, the characters of which were broad and distinct, resembling Old English. This was used during the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth centuries. Each letter was cut separately from the metal and fixed into its own matrix, and these formed a border round the central figure. This method of fixing was soon abandoned as it was found to be insecure. To remedy this defect narrow metal bands were placed above and below the letters; the matrix of the inscription of Richard de Hakebourne, Merton College, Oxford, *c.* 1310, is a type of this method. No complete example of these inscriptions now exists, but the matrices were cut so deeply that they can still be deciphered.

In the middle of the fourteenth century separate

letters were replaced by a band of metal about two inches wide, on which the inscription was engraved; a cross or band generally indicated the commencement of the sentence. In early examples the angles of these bands were plain, but later they were filled with emblems of the Evangelists. Dates were also introduced, being sometimes expressed in words, but more frequently in Roman numerals.

Old English

Towards the end of the fourteenth century Lombardic was replaced by German text (or as it is more familiarly known, Old English). Letters were at first somewhat round in shape, but in the fifteenth century they were more upright and so similar to each other that they are extremely difficult to read; this form is known as 'Black Letter'. A century later letters of a more ornamental style were introduced, and inscriptions were engraved on rectangular plates which were fixed below the figure; sometimes the letters were embossed, the ground having been cut away, as on the memorials of Bishop Yong (see p. 95), Richard Bulkley, *c.* 1530, Beaumaris, and Richard Manning, 1604, S. Mary Cray, Kent (see p. 54). Probably in consequence of the ignorance of the workmen or the difficulty in deciphering them these inscriptions were sometimes fixed upside down. Instances occur at Kingston-on-Thames, Addington (Kent), and Harefield (Middlesex).

In the middle of the fifteenth century Arabic numerals were used, but the 4, 5, and 9 are frequently very difficult to decipher, on account of their unusual form. Ware, Herts., 1454, North-leach, Gloucestershire, 1447, are early examples.

Roman

At the end of the sixteenth century Roman letters were introduced; these can be read quite easily. An early instance of this change occurs at Hever, Kent, 1538 (see p. 127). This inscription is fixed upside down, but the plate has been reversed in the illustration.

Norman-French Inscriptions

Norman-French was invariably employed until early in the fourteenth century. These inscriptions generally included a supplication for the repose of the soul of the departed and often a request for a prayer from the passer-by, and as an inducement for the latter, an indulgence—generally for forty days—was promised; this, however, required the consent of the bishop of the diocese. The following example is found at Cobham, Kent, *c.* 1320 :

Dame Jone de Kobeham gist isi
Deus de sa alme eit merci
Kike pur le alme priera
Quaraunte jours de pardoun avera.

(‘Dame Joan of Cobham lies here, on whose soul may God have mercy, whoever prays for her soul shall have forty days’ indulgence.’)

Latin Inscriptions

Latin succeeded Norman-French and was in use until the fifteenth century, although it was employed on memorials to ecclesiastics to a much later date. Inscriptions are difficult to read, not only because of the shape of the letters but also in consequence of numerous contractions, e. g. 'animae' is written *aie*, 'dominus' *dns*. The letters *m* and *n* were frequently omitted, their absence being marked by a dash over the preceding vowel; vowels preceding or following the letter *r* were also often omitted, 'grace' being written *gce*; 'prieria' *p'era*. Where space was limited only the first letter of each word in the sentence was used, such as *c. a. p. d. a.* for *cuius anime propitiatur Deus, Amen* ('for whose soul may God be propitiated'). Latin inscriptions usually end with this sentence and almost invariably begin with *orate pro anima* ('pray for the soul of'). A very common sentence, or one expressing a similar sentiment, is the following: *Id quod sum tu eris, quod tu es ego fui* ('That which I am, you will be, that thou art I was'). The English form is found at Snodland, Kent, 1541 and S. Saviour's, Dartmouth, 1635; it is also found on continental brasses.

Inscriptions anterior to the fourteenth century were always simple (see p. 115). 'Here lyeth Sir Richard Bewfforeste, I pray Jhū geve his sowle good rest.' After that date they became more

diffuse, and in the sixteenth century often included irrelevant and sometimes gruesome details.

At Warkworth, Northants, *c.* 1420, there is an inscription partly in Norman-French and partly in Latin. At Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1530, there is one in Latin and English as follows :

Man in what state that euer thou be
 Timor¹ mortis shulde trouble the (sic)
 Ffor when thou leest wenyst² veniet te mors
 superare
 And so thy grave grewys³ ergo mortis
 memorare.

The same inscription is found at Witney, Oxon., 1501; S. Mary's, Luton, 1513, and Great Tew, Oxon., ending, however, with the prayer, 'J'hu mercy: Lady helpe.' At Swanton Abbot, Norfolk, 1641, there is an inscription to the memory of Elizabeth Knolles, in which three languages are introduced, viz. Greek, Latin, and English.

In the middle of the fifteenth century scrolls (labels) were added; these generally issued from the mouth of the deceased and were inscribed with prayers such as :

Jhu fili Dei,
 Miserere mei

(Jesus, Son of God, have mercy upon me), or
 Invocations to the Blessed Virgin and saints, as at

¹ The fear of death.

² Thinkest death shall come to conquer thee.

³ Grows, therefore be mindful of death.

Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1530, 'O regina poli
mediatrix esto' (O, queen of heaven, be the media-
trice of); others were in English, as:

O Blessyd Ladye of pite pray for me,
That my soule sawyd may be.

Rhyming Latin inscriptions are found at Dyrham,
Gloucestershire, 1401; Lingfield, Surrey, 1403;
Wymington, Beds., 1430.

English Inscriptions

In the last quarter of the fourteenth century English supplanted Latin. These inscriptions are also difficult to read on account of many obsolete words, curious spellings, and abbreviations. Before the Reformation English inscriptions generally began with 'Pray for the soul of' and end 'on whose soul Jesus have mercy, Amen.' At the Reformation these opening and closing sentences, both in Latin and English, were generally obliterated, probably by the friends of the deceased, who thereby hoped to prevent the destruction of the remaining portion of the memorial.

Haines states that the earliest English inscription is at Baldwyn Brightwell, Oxon., *c.* 1370, to the memory of John Smyth. It reads as follows:

Man com and se how schal alle dede be :
Wen yow comes bad and bare :
Noth hab wen ve away fare :

All ys werines yt ve for care :
 Bot yt ve do for godys luf ve haue nothyng
 yare
 Hundyr yis graue lys Johan ye Smyth
 God gif hys soule heuen grit.

At Childrey, Berks., 1507, and at Ampthill, Beds.,
c. 1520, there is a prayer to the Holy Trinity ; this
 is somewhat unusual : the opening sentence of each
 is alike. The following is taken from the Ampthill
 brass :¹

Maker of Man, O God in Trinite,
 Thou has allone all thing in ordennce,
 Fforgeve the trespas of my juvente (youth),
 Ne thyke not, Lord, upon myn ignorance,
 Fforgeve my soule all my mys governnce.
 Bryng me to blisse where Thow art eternall
 Ever to joye with his aungeles celestiaall.

The Childrey brass bears a good representation of
 the Trinity. An invocation is also found on the
 brass at Taplow (see p. 49).

Mottoes are rarely found on brasses. There is
 one at Great Tew, Oxon., *c.* 1410, 'In on (one) is al' ;
 another at Broxbourne, 1531, has 'Espoier en
 Dieu' (see p. 130).

At the Reformation a great change took place
 in the character of inscriptions. They no longer
 breathed the spirit of humility and piety which
 had been so beautiful a feature of the earlier
 centuries, although in many instances texts of

¹ See Macklin's *Brasses of England*, p. 233.

scripture or pious sentiments were introduced. The prayer for the repose of the soul was replaced by 'Here lyeth buried the body of', concluding with 'To whom God grant a joyful resurrection'. Texts such as 'Beati qui moriuntur in Domino' (Blessed are they who die in the Lord) are frequent. Mottoes and sentiments like 'Sic transit gloria mundi' were introduced; and much of the family history was recorded, including even details of the last illness of the deceased. There is an example to the memory of a lady at Quethiock, Cornwall, 1631.¹

Thomas Berri is commemorated by two identical brasses in the churches of Walton on the Hill, Lancashire, and S. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, E.C., 1586. He is represented in a tunic, with a sash round the waist, ruffs at neck and wrists, a long fur-trimmed mantle with false hanging sleeves. A merchant's mark is also engraved on the plate. The quaint rhyming inscription refers to current events and the initial letter of each line read backwards spells his name:

In God the Lorde put all your truste
 Repente your former wicked waies
 Elizabethe our queene moste juste
 Blesse her O Lorde in all her daies
 So Lorde encrease good councelers
 And preachers of his holie worde
 Mislike off all papistes desiers
 O Lorde cut them off with sworde

¹ See *Parochial History of Cornwall*, vol. iv, p. 105.

How small soever the gifte shall be
 Thanke God for him who gave it thee.
 xii penie loaves to xii poore foulkes
 Geve everie sabothe day for aye.

And at Wing, Bucks., 1648, is the following :

Honest old Thomas Cotes, that some time was
 Porter at Ascott Hall, bvt now (alas)
 Left his key, lodg, fyre, friends and all to have
 A roome in heaven ; this is that good mans grave
 Reader prepare for thine, for none can tell
 Bvt that yov two may meete tonight ; farewell
 He dyed the 20th of } Set vp at the apoyntment
 November, 1648. } and charges of his frend
 } George Hovghton.

At Henfield, Sussex, 1633, there is an inscription
 with a strange mixture of pagan and Christian
 sentiment (see p. 75). At Cranfield, Beds., a very
 descriptive sentiment is thus expressed :

Here lyeth interred the body of Thomas
 Grubbe, a pious and a painefull preacher and pastor
 of y^e Word of God, 33 yeares in this parrish.

He was aged fifty-eight yeares and decessed the
 31 of August, 1652.

The God of peace sent us this man of peace,
 Who preached y^e peace of God till his decess ;
 Blessings and virtues here doe lye, examples for
 posteritye.

His charitye did all y^e poore supplye
 He lived beloved, and much bewayld did dye.

At this period rebuses and plays on words both
 in Latin and English were frequent (see the last

line of the inscription to Thomas Hylle, p. 108). At S. Mary the Virgin, Oxford, 1507, there is a Greek cross with a tun engraved at the extremity of each arm, to the memory of Edmund Croston; Beddington, Surrey, 1634, has the following to the memory of Thomas Greenhill:

MORS SUPER VIRIDES MONTES.

Tho. GRENHILL BORNE & BREDD in y^e FAMOVES university of OXON BATCHELOVR of ARTES, & SOMETYMES STVDENT in Magd: Coll: steward to y^e noble K^T S^R Nicholas CAREW of Beddington: who deceas^d Sept. 17th. day An^o 1634, aged 33 yeares.

WILL. GRENHILL M^R of Artes his brother and Mary his sister, to his memory erected this :

Vnder thy feete interr^d is heere
A native borne in Oxfordsheere
First life, and learning, Oxford gave
Surry to him, his death, his grave
Hee once a Hill was fresh and Greene
Now wither^d is, not to bee seene,
Earth in Earth shovel^d up is shut,
A Hill into a Hole is put,

Dan 12. 3. But darkesome earth by powre Divine
Mar. 13. 43. Bright at last as y^e sun may shine
W. G.

Sicut Hora.

Sic VITA.

A skull and cross-bones are depicted at the top, a skeleton on each side, and a winged hour-glass at the bottom of the inscription.

At Adderbury, Oxon., a memorial to Jane Smith chronicles her death on the xxx day of February, 1508; this is probably an engraver's error for xix.

HEERE LYETH INTERRED THE BODY OF ANNE WIFE
OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE WHO DEPT'D THIS LIFE THE
6 DAY OF AUGV 1623 BEING OF THE AGE OF 67 YEARES
Vltima tu mater, tu lac, vitam dedisti
Vix mihi pro tantonumere saxa dabo
Quam malleti cinerem lapidem, bonus ang^lus
Exeat christi corpus inuictu tuu
Sed nil vultu valent venias cito Christo, relinquit
Clauis licet iunul: mater et astra pelet

GOOD FRENDE FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOSED HEARE
BLESE BE ^EY MAN ^TY SPARES THES STONES,
AND CVRST BE HE ^TY MOVES MY BONES.

INDICIO PYLIVM GENIO Socratem arte MARONEM
TERRA TEGIT POPVLVS MÆRET OLYMPVS HABET
STAY PASSENGER WHY GOEST THOU BY SO FAST
READ IF THOU CANST, WHOM ENVIOUS DEATH HATH PLAST
WITH IN THIS MONUMENT SHAKSPEARE: WITH WHOME
QUICK NATURE DIDE, WHOSE NAME, DOTH DECK ^EY TOMB
FAR MORE TEN COST: SIEH ALL ^EY HE HATH WRITT
LEAVES LIVING ART BVT PAGE, TO SERVE HIS WITT.
DIED ANNO DNI 1616
ÆTATIS 52 THE 30th

Inscriptions to the memories of William and Anne Shakespeare,
Stratford-on-Avon, engraved 1624.

Two inscriptions to Shakespeare, in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, are inserted as being of great historic interest. One is a brass on the north wall of the chancel, and the

other, beginning 'Good frend', is cut in stone over his grave in the centre of the chancel. A small plate of similar interest is placed in S. John's College Chapel, Oxford, to the memory of Archbishop Laud—'IN HAC CISTULA CONDUNTUR EXUVIAE GUILIELMI LAUD ARCHIEPISCOPI CANTUARIENSIS QUI SECURI PERCUSSUS IMMORTALITATEM ADIIT DIE DECIMO JANUARI AN^O DÑI 164 $\frac{4}{5}$ AETATIS AUTĒ SUAE 72. ARCHIEPISCOP. (11 years).'

CHAPTER IX

HERALDRY

THE study of heraldry as illustrated on brasses is full of interest. Shields, especially those of the fifteenth century, exhibit great artistic merit. They are set in various ways, and are sometimes fixed in separate matrices; but when canopies are introduced they are frequently displayed in the spandrils. In some instances the main composition is enclosed by a brass fillet which bears the inscription; in these cases coats of arms are sometimes engraved at the angles. At the end of the sixteenth and in the following century, shields were generally enclosed in an ornamental border, as at Ilminster, Somerset, 1609 (see p. 37).

It should be remembered that in heraldry the *dexter*, or right side, is on the left when looking at a shield, and the *sinister*, or left, on the right.

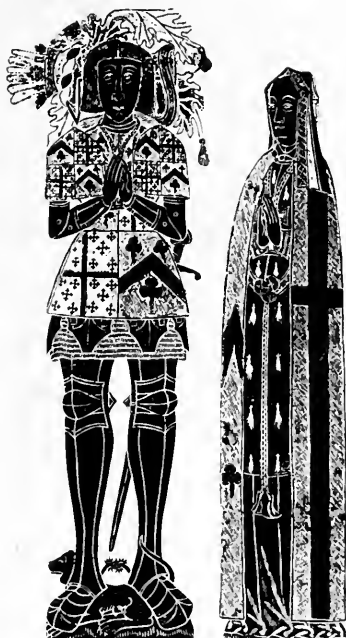
A shield divided down the centre in two equal parts, bearing two different coats of arms, is described as being 'impaled' (see pp. 37, 38). If divided into four parts it is known as 'quarterly' (see p. 35). There are various other ways of

dividing a shield, but the two mentioned are the most usual.

In heraldry three furs are used : white with black spots (*ermine*), black with white spots (*ermine*), and gold with white spots (*ermineois*) ; the last two are rarely employed. Two metals are also used, viz. gold (*or*) and silver (*argent*), and five colours (*tinctures*), red (*gules*), blue (*azure*), black (*sable*), green (*vert*), purple (*purpure*). On brasses the different colours were shown 'proper', i.e. in their correct tinctures, enamel being employed for the purpose, but all trace of the enamel has disappeared except in very rare cases. The shields were made of copper, as latten would not withstand the heat necessary for enamelling.

In memorials to knights the coat of arms is not only charged on the shield, pennon, and ailettes (see pp. 13, 17), but frequently also on the body armour, jupon, or scabbard (see p. 179). The crest is also placed over the helm as at Wyvenhoe, 1507 (see p. 35). At Winwick, Lancashire, there is a unique example of a priest with his coat of arms embroidered on the chasuble. In the fifteenth century brasses frequently depict the tabard ; this was a short, square-cut, silk coat, with half sleeves, the body of which was emblazoned with the wearer's arms. It was sometimes padded, which caused it to hang very stiffly. The custom of wearing the tabard continued about a hundred years ; it was worn over the armour. One of the earliest

specimens is at Amberley, Sussex, 1424; there are others at Winwick, Lancashire, *c.* 1485, and Ingrave, Essex, *c.* 1528.

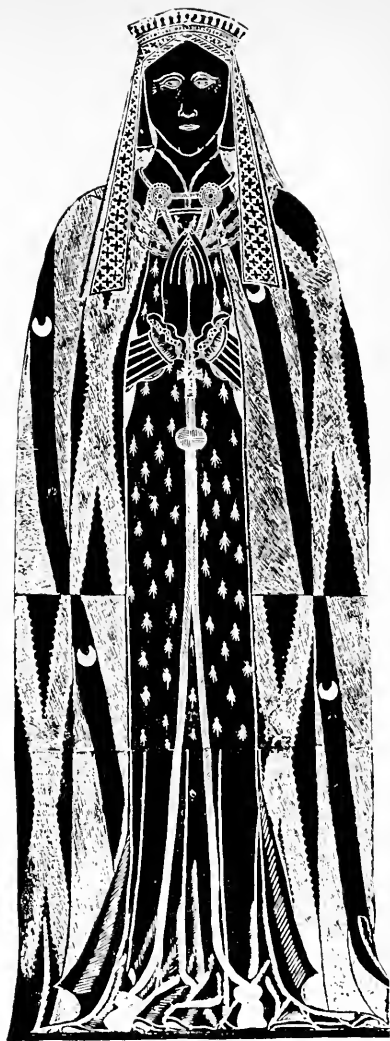


SIR RICHARD FITZLEWIS AND ONE OF HIS FOUR WIVES,
1528. INGRAVE

Showing the tabard worn over armour; the lady is represented with the pedimental head-dress, ermine kirtle, and heraldic mantle.

Sir Richard was knighted on the battle-field of Stoke, 1487.

Ladies of rank wore rich heraldic mantles as depicted at Ingrave, Essex, 1528, and Wyvenhoe,



ELIZABETH, WIDOW OF WILLIAM, VISCOUNT BEAUMONT, AND
COUNTRESS OF OXFORD, 1537, WYVENHOE
Wearing an ermine sideless cote-hardi, heraldic mantle,
and coronet.



DAME ELIZABETH GORYNGE, 1558, BURTON, SUSSEX
Probably the only instance of a lady wearing the tabard ; her
own and her husband's family arms are quartered on it.

Essex, 1537 (see p. 180); usually the husband's arms were embroidered on the dexter and the wife's on the sinister side; sometimes the wife's arms were worked on the kirtle and the husband's on the mantle. Long Melford, Suffolk, *c.* 1480. Brasses of ladies attired in the tabard are extremely rare, probably the only specimen is that of Dame Elizabeth Gorynge, Burton, Sussex, 1558 (see p. 181), who is represented kneeling at a *prie-dieu*; her arms, quartered with those of her husband, are emblazoned on the tabard; she wears a Paris head-dress, the lappets of which are well displayed.

In the Middle Ages civilians engaged in trade were not permitted to bear coats of arms, consequently merchants adopted those of their Guilds. The arms of the principal London companies are therefore found on memorials to merchants; these are often quartered with a trade-mark, especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

One of the most important of these Guilds which flourished in the Middle Ages was that of the Staple of Calais. The arms of that company are found, amongst others, at Standon, Herts., 1477, and Northleach, Gloucestershire, 1526. Another Guild, conspicuous for its wealth and influence, was that of the Mercers, whose arms are found at Boxford, Suffolk, 1610, and Higham Ferrars, Northants, 1504; S. Mary Tower Church, Ipswich, 1506, impaled with a trade-mark, and Much Hadham, Herts., 1582—the arms of the City of London are

engraved on this brass, and also at Boxford, Suffolk, 1610.

On the plate commemorating Andrew Evyngar and his wife, All Hallows', Barking, *c.* 1535, the arms of the Salters' Company are on the sinister, and those of the Merchant Adventurers on the dexter side, while the trade-mark is placed at the middle base point.

Merchants' Marks

These were first adopted about 1275, and were in use up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were employed by merchants in order that traders who were unable to read might know whose goods they were buying or selling. In course of time traders became as proud of their trade-mark as knights were of their armorial bearings, and, being hereditary, they were handed on from father to son.

The earliest examples were simple in form; they were engraved on a shield, and generally included the merchant's initials, a cross, or circle, and something similar to a flagstaff with yard-arms and pennon. Thame, 1502 (see p. 51). Rebuses and trade utensils, such as a fuller's bat, a knife, a pair of compasses or Arabic numerals were sometimes incorporated. The earliest trade-mark on a brass is that of Alanos Ffleming, Newark, 1361, and the one at S. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich, 1604, is probably the latest.

At Aylsham, Norfolk, *c.* 1490, Thomas Tylson, B.C.L., is represented in processional vestments, without a cope ; a merchant's trade-mark is placed under the figure. There does not seem to be any satisfactory explanation of such a curious combination, unless the trade-mark was inserted at a later date by an ignorant person.

CHAPTER X

ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURAL features on brasses are confined almost exclusively to canopies and brackets, which are supported by shafts. This style of enrichment dates from the fourteenth century, that great building era when Gothic architecture reached its zenith; all the beautiful detail of ecclesiastical work of this period was reproduced on brasses with striking accuracy. The earliest existing example of a canopy is on the memorial of Jone de Kobham, Cobham, Kent, *c.* 1320.

Canopies, supported by graceful shafts, vary on each brass according to the number of figures they surmount. Although there are numerous matrices of this early period, instances where the canopies remain are rare. They were somewhat debased, but the ogee arch was introduced to remedy this defect; they were also supported by loftier shafts, and this enhanced the gracefulness of the design. A good illustration of the earlier arch is on the monument of Laurence de S. Mauro, 1337, Higham Ferrars, Northants.

In the fifteenth century canopies were frequently

surmounted by an embattled entablature as at New College, Oxford, 1417 (see p. 93). In course of time shafts were widened and enriched by niches containing figures of the saints. On the brass of Thomas Nelond (see frontispiece), Cowfold, the graceful triple canopies support a tabernacle, beneath which is seated a figure of the Holy Mother and Child, with attendant saints on either side; whilst pinnaced shafts, carrying flying buttresses, and two other canopies mark it as one of unrivalled beauty; it is probably the finest existing specimen of this class of work.

The close of the fifteenth century marked the commencement of the decadence of architecture; this deterioration can be detected not only in the workmanship of the brass, but also in the accessories and details. After the Reformation architectural features in separate matrices entirely disappear. At All Hallows', Barking, the Flemish brass of Andrew Ewyngar, 1535, exhibits an example of a Renaissance canopy and bracket, but these are engraved on the same plate as the figures.

Bracket Brass

The Bracket brass is an interesting form of memorial, consisting generally of a shaft rising from steps and supporting a bracket, on which was placed a figure of the person commemorated. At Merton College, Oxford, *c.* 1420, a brass of this description carries two figures under canopies, the shaft rising

from a tabernacle, within which is the Agnus Dei. The shaft branches at the head and displays a handsome quatrefoil in each spandril. It is a fine example of its kind, and is also in a good state of preservation (see p. 109).

The individual commemorated generally kneels at the base of the shaft, in which case the bracket usually supports a figure of the Holy Mother and Child, or of a saint as at Burford, Oxon., 1437.

At Hunstanton the position of the bracket is reversed, being placed at the foot. It supports a figure of Sir Roger l'Estrange, 1506, in tabard, with mantling and helm over. It is surmounted by a triple canopy, carried by two unusually wide shafts, the latter bearing representations of the knight's ancestors, all of whom are attired in armour contemporary with his own. Others are found at Bray, Berks., 1378; Upper Hardres, Kent, 1405; S. John, Maddermarket, Norwich, 1524.

CONCLUSION

THIS book will have accomplished its object should it be the means of inducing some who have hitherto been indifferent to take an interest in what may appear at first sight a very 'dead' subject. It may be safely predicted that, in many cases, those who pursue the matter will experience a great and ever-increasing fascination for it, and as knowledge increases the rubbing of brasses will provide not only an agreeable recreation, but it will also tend to lift its votaries above the strain and stress of everyday life, and enable them to realize with Matthew Arnold that

Tasks in hours of insight will'd,
Can be through hours of gloom fulfill'd.

Not till the hours of light return
All we have built do we discern.

Be this as it may, it is earnestly hoped that every reader will carefully abstain from treading on, or in any way damaging these quaint 'cullen plates', for they have now become valuable heirlooms, bequeathed to us for safe-keeping by past generations, heirlooms which link us with the many noble men and women who have helped to make the England which we know and love so well to-day.

INDEX

Abbess's costume, 118
 Abbots' vestments, 92.
 Aberdeen, 3.
 Academic costume, 105.
 Acton, Suffolk, 12.
 Adderbury, 32, 66, 175.
 Addington, 166.
 Adoration, the, 154.
 Agincourt, battle of, 24.
 Agnus Dei, the, 152.
 Aillettes, the, 15, 22.
 Airey, Henry, 105, 149.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, 4.
 Alb, the, 79, 81, 83, 85, 93, 96,
 114, 164.
 Aldborough, 22.
 Almuze, the, 86, 87, 88, 89, 102,
 115.
 Amberley, 179.
 Amice, the, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85,
 93, 114, 164.
 Amphill, 171.
 Anelace, the, 43, 44, 48.
 Anjou, Margaret of, 97.
 Anne of Bohemia, 64.
 Annunciation, the, 154.
 Antingham, 34.
 Apparel, the, 80.
 Appleton, 118, 136, 137.
 Arabic numerals, 167.
 Archbishops' vestments, 92.
 Architectural features, 185.
 Ardingly, 76.
 Arrière Bras, the, 18.
 Arthur, Prince, 32.
 Arundel, 65.

Arundel, John, 38, 148.
 Ash, Kent, 66.
 Assheton, Richard, 164.
 Atkinson, Richard, 141.
 Aumberdene, Nichole de, 42.
 Avant bras, the, 18.
 Aylsham, 184.
 Aylworth, Antoine, 111, 112.
 Bachelor of Arts costume,
 110.
 Bachelor of Divinity costume,
 106, 109.
 Baker, Thomas, 110.
 Baldwyn Brightwell, 65, 66,
 122, 124, 147, 170.
 Bampton, Oxon., 76, 90.
 Barbe, the, 67, 77, 118, 119.
 Barcheston, 106.
 Barford S. Michael, 50.
 Barley, John, 56.
 Bascinet, the, 16, 19.
 Batersby, Jacob, 86.
 Battle, 103, 104.
 Bawdric, the, 22, 44.
 Beauchamp, Simon de, 4.
 Beauchamp, Walter, 164.
 Beaumaris, 3, 155, 160.
 Beaumont, Louis de, 6.
 Beaumont, Viscount, 35, 180.
 Beauner, Robert, 110, 117.
 Beddington, 152, 174.
 Bedford, 4.
 Belgium, 4.
 Bel-syre, Alexander, 136.
 Bernards Heath, battle of, 31.

- Berri, Thomas, 172.
 Bewffloreste, Sir Richard, 113,
 115, 168.
 Bickling, 69, 138.
 Birde, David, 134.
 Bishops' vestments, 92.
 Bladigdone, Johan de, 41.
 Bloxham, John, 106, 109.
 Bodice, the; flounced, 73;
 plain, 77.
 Boleyn, Anne, 128.
 Bonnet, the Puritan, 76, 77.
 Borrill, John, 130.
 Bowers Gifford, 19.
 Boxford, 134, 182, 183.
 Bracket Brasses, 186.
 Bradshawe, Henry, 147.
 Bray, 74, 187.
 Breeches Bible, the, 7.
 Brightwell, 86.
 Bristol, 3, 44, 87, 141.
 British Museum, the, 141.
 Broadwater, 90, 152, 153.
 Brode, John, 1.
 Bromham, 144.
 Broughton, 64.
 Broughton Gifford, 163.
 Browne, John, 132.
 Broxbourne, 106, 107, 129, 130.
 171.
 Bruges, 4.
 Brussels, 4.
 Bulkley, Richard, 166.
 Bullen, Sir Thomas, 126, 127.
 Bures, Sir Robert de, 12.
 Burford, 187.
 Burnham, Bucks, 132.
 Burton, Sussex, 71, 181.
 Burwash, 149.
 Bury S. Edmunds, 32.
 Buskins, the, 92, 97.
 Butterfly head-dress, the, 67, 68.
 Byrkhed, John, 96.

 Calais, 45.
 Calash head-dress, the, 38, 54,
 74, 75.

 Camail, the, 19.
 Cambridge, 3, 55, 106.
 Camoys, Elizabeth, 65.
 Camoys, Margarete de, 4, 59,
 60, 61.
 Canons' costume, 100.
 Canons of Windsor, 100.
 Canopies, 185.
 Cap, the, 87, 88, 100, 103, 104.
 Carlisle, 147.
 Carshalton, 32, 69, 70.
 Cashel, 12.
 Cassington, 152.
 Cassock, the, 86, 87, 88, 95, 100,
 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 108,
 109, 110, 115, 116, 122.
 Cauls, the, 63, 64.
 Chalfont S. Peter, 146.
 Chalgrove, 26.
 Chalice Brasses, 160.
 Chamberlain, the late Rev. T.,
 86.
 Chaperon, the, 44.
 Charles I, 76.
 Charles II, 76.
 Charlton-on-Otmoor, 90.
 Chart, Great, 40, 77.
 Chasuble, the, 79, 84, 85, 86,
 93, 95, 96, 114.
 Chaucer, 44, 116.
 Chausses, the, 14.
 Checkendon, 164.
 Cherubs, 58, 161.
 Chesham Bois, 138.
 Cheyne, Roger, 152.
 Cheynie, Humfrie, 35.
 Chichele, Thomas, 151.
 Childrey, 147, 177.
 Chigwell, 90, 100, 101.
 Chimere, the, 99, 100, 101.
 Chinnor, 6, 8, 20, 22, 50, 63,
 151.
 Chrysom, the, 138.
 Cirencester, 6, 26, 29, 32, 48,
 64, 66, 87, 88.
 Civic costume, 129.
 Civilian costume, 41.

Clerke, Thos., 81, 82, 83, 90.
 Cloak, Civilian, 52, 110, 115.
 Cloak, Ladies, 76.
 Clynnog, 3, 134, 135.
 Coat, the, 58.
 Cobham, Kent, 155, 167, 185.
 Cobham, Surrey, 154.
 Coif, the, 124, 125.
 Coif de Maille, the, 12.
 Coke, Sir John, 25.
 Colan, 132.
 Cole, Arthur, 100, 102.
 Coles, George, 57.
 Collar of sun and roses, 31, 32.
 Collar of S.S., 22, 28, 65.
 Collins, John, 149.
 Cologne, 1.
 Complyn, William, 159.
 Constance, 4.
 Constantine, 98.
 Conquest, Richard, 33.
 Cope, the, 83, 86, 89, 90, 101.
 Copper-plate Memorials, 148.
 Corby, John, 152, 153.
 Cote-hardi, the, 41, 42, 60, 61.
 Cote-hardi, the sideless, 63, 65, 180.
 Cotes, Thomas, 173.
 Cottesmore, Judge, 122, 124, 148.
 Coutes, the, 22, 23.
 Cowfold, 6, 113, 116, 155, 186.
 Craddock, Jane, 76.
 Cranfield, 173.
 Cranley, Thomas, 82, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98.
 Creak, South, 113.
 Crécy, 8, 16.
 Crespine head-dress, the, 24, 63.
 Crosbie, Sir John, 128.
 Crosier, the, 93, 95, 98, 100.
 Cross, the floriated, 79.
 Croston, Edmund, 174.
 Crowhurst, 150.
 Cuirass, the, 19, 33.
 Cuisses, the, 22.

Culettes, the, 33.
 Cullen plates, 1.
 Culpeper, Elizabeth, 76.
 Cumnor, 71, 72.
 Curson, Sir Walter, 144, 145.
 Cyclas, the, 16, 17.
 D'Aubernoun, Sir John; senior, 4, 12, 13, 15, 156.
 D'Aubernoun, Sir John; junior, 16, 17.
 Dagenham, 68, 69, 125, 134.
 Dalmatic, the, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96.
 Dames, 59.
 Dartmouth, 21, 22, 63, 132, 168.
 Dautesey, Margaret, 141.
 Deddington, 44.
 Denham, 118.
 Denot, Peter, 48.
 Difference between English and Foreign brasses, 9.
 Doctors' habit, 106, 108, 111, 112.
 Dorchester, Oxon., 27, 28, 89, 113, 115.
 Dormer, Geoffrey, 51.
 Doublet, the, 36, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 103, 104, 111, 112, 129.
 Drayton, Sir John, 28.
 Dublin, 3.
 Durham, 6.
 Dyrham, 170.
 Ecclesiasties, 78.
 Edgmond, 137.
 Edinburgh, 3.
 Edward I, 12; II, 6, 16; III, 27, 45, 62, 121, 125; IV, 32, 64; VI, 8.
 Elizabeth, Queen, 8, 34, 72, 99.
 Elsing, 19, 121.
 Elstow, 67, 118, 119.
 Emblems, 51, 151.
 Embossed brasses, 148.
 English inscriptions, 170.
 Epaulières, the, 22, 36.

- Essex, 3.
 Estbury, John, 6.
 Estrange, Sir Robert P, 187.
 Ethelred, King, 120.
 Eton, 141.
 Ewyngar, Andrew, 48, 155, 183, 186.
 Ewelme, 26, 67.

 Fairford, 148.
 Fan, the, 74, 75.
 Farthingale, the, 37, 54, 72, 73, 76.
 Felbrigg, 24, 26, 63, 125.
 Ffelbrigge, Sir Simon, 24, 125.
 Ffitzherbert, Jane, 142.
 Fleming, Alanos, 183.
 Fitzlewis, Sir Richard, 179.
 Flemish brasses, 9, 113, 141, 143, 155.
 Flemmyng, Thomas, 136.
 Fletcher, Alderman, 132.
 Fletching, 48.
 Flexney, Ralph, 131.
 Flysloot, the, 156.
 Foster, Ane, 150.
 Fovant, 154.
 France, 4.
 Francis I, 36.
 Franklin, Elizabeth, 139.
 Frenze, 118.
 Furlong, Elizabeth, 163.

 Garter, Order of, 100, 127.
 Genouillières, the, 30.
 Germany, 1, 4.
 Geste, Bishop, 98, 99, 100.
 Glasgow, 3.
 Gloves, the, 92, 97.
 Glynn, William, 134, 135.
 Goodryngton, John, 118, 137.
 Gown, the, 100, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110, 112, 117, 122, 129, 131.
 Gorget, the, 23, 24, 59.
 Goring, Oxon., 63.
 Goring, Sussex, 26, 70.
 Gorleston, 16.

 Gorynge, Elizabeth, 181.
 Grainthorpe, 152.
 Gravenhurst, John de, 9.
 Greenhill, Thomas, 174.
 Greenwood, Benjamin, 2, 58, 163.
 Greenwood, Philadelphia, 2, 58, 77.
 Gregory the Great, 78.
 Grey, Sir Anthony, 31.
 Grubbe, Thomas, 173.
 Guige, the, 12, 14.
 Guilds, Trade, 182.
 Gypcière, the, 52.

 Hackney, 103, 105.
 Hair, the, 86.
 Hakebourne, Richard de, 79, 80, 81, 165.
 Halberd, the, 129.
 Halton, 147.
 Hampton Poyle, 26, 66.
 Hamsterley, Ralph, 136, 147.
 Handborough, 136.
 Hanley, John, 21.
 Hanney, West, 34, 35, 39, 71, 72, 73.
 Hanson, Robert, 146.
 Hardres, Upper, 187.
 Harefield, 125, 166.
 Harlow, 163.
 Harrow, 96, 105, 106.
 Harsnett, Archbishop, 100, 101.
 Harward, Richard, 87, 88, 89.
 Hastings, 52, 55, 56.
 Hastings, Sir Hugh, 121.
 Hats, ladies', 57, 74, 76.
 Hauketon, the, 12.
 Hausse-col, the, 29, 30, 128.
 Hauberk, the, 12.
 Headbourne Worthy, 133.
 Heart Brasses, 161.
 Henfield, 75, 76, 133, 173.
 Henry III, 12; IV, 27, 62, 90; V, 64, 91, 118, 126; VI, 97; VII, 32, 69, 71, 129; VIII, 8, 130.

Henry of Lancaster, 27.
 Heraldry, 177.
 Hereford, 65.
 Heron, Thomas, 133.
 Hervy, Elizabeth, 118. 119.
 Heston, 139.
 Hever, 126, 127, 164, 167.
 Higham Ferrars. 96. 151, 182.
 185.
 Hildersham, 155.
 Holy Trinity, the, 155.
 Homer, 60.
 Hood, the, 86, 89, 100, 105.
 109, 115, 117, 122, 127.
 Hopper, Agnes and Jane, 77.
 Horned head-dress, the, 47. 64.
 65.
 Horsham, 81, 82. 83, 90.
 Horsmonden, 9.
 Houghton Conquest, 33.
 Howden, 144.
 How to classify rubbings, xvi.
 How to take rubbings, xv.
 How to tell the date of brasses,
 5.
 Humfray, Hugo, 106.
 Humprey, William, 1.
 Hunsdon, 163.
 Hunstanton, 187.
 Hurst, 138.
 Hyde, Ann, 133.
 Hylle, Thomas, 106, 108, 174.

 Ightham, 76.
 Ilford, Little, 133.
 Illustrations, List of, vii.
 Ilminster, 26, 36, 37, 39, 72,
 177.
 Ilsley, Archbishop, 97.
 Ingrave, 69. 179.
 Inkhorn, the, 125.
 Inscriptions, 165.
 Ipswich, 182, 183.
 Iron memorials, 149.
 Isabella, Queen, 6.
 Isleworth, 144.

Iso-von-wilpe, Archbishop,
 80.

 Jack boots, 38, 40, 55.
 Jacobean period, the, 74.
 Jams, the, 18.
 James I, 40, 71, 76.
 Joan of Navarre, 90.
 John, King, 59.
 John of Poland, 64.
 Johnson, Hugh, 103. 105
 Jupon, the, 19, 22, 23.

 Kegett, Richard. 85. 86.
 Kent, 3.
 Kenton, 151.
 Key, Thomas. 90.
 King, Bishop, 94.
 King's Lynn, 9.
 Kingston-on-Thames, 166.
 Kirkheaton, 40.
 Kirtle, the, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67,
 68, 72, 118, 179
 Knee breeches, 55, 58.
 Knights of the Garter, 125.
 Knolles, Elizabeth, 169.
 Kobeham, Jane de, 185.
 Kyngeston, John. 147.

 Labels, the, 169.
 Lambourn, 5, 6.
 Lamboys, the, 34, 36, 37, 38.
 Lancastrian armour, 23.
 Latin inscriptions, 168. 169.
 Latten plates, 1.
 Lawnder, William, 89.
 Lawrence, S., 96.
 Lavington, West, 141, 142.
 Leeds, 58.
 Legal costume, 121.
 Legh, Sir Peter. 128.
 Leigh, 58.
 Leland, 4.
 Leman, Thomas. 92.
 Lewes, battle of, 12.
 Lillingstone Lovell, 32. 50. 161,
 162.

- Lingfield, 170.
 Llanbeblig, 125.
 Llanrwst, 3.
 Lloyd, David, 89, 110.
 Lombardic letters, 165.
 London, All Hallows, Barking,
 3, 55, 154, 183, 186.
 S. Botolph's, Aldersgate St.,
 150.
 S. Helen's, Bishopsgate, 3,
 106, 128.
 S. Martin's, Ludgate Hill,
 172.
 S. Mary's, Lambeth, 8.
 Westminster Abbey, 26.
 Lubeck, 151.
 Luton, 169.

 Mail shirt, the, 22.
 Mail skirt armour, 32, 34, 36.
 Malyns, Reginald de, 20.
 Man, Isle of, 3.
 Manfeld, Rychard, 49.
 Maniple, the, 82, 86, 93.
 Manning, Richard, 54, 166.
 Mantle, the, 65, 67, 71, 118,
 122, 126.
 Mantle, the heraldic, 76, 179,
 180.
 Mapleton, John, 90.
 Marcheford, Simon, 105, 106.
 Mare, Thomas de la, 6, 113,
 114, 121.
 Margate, 48.
 Marsworth, 163.
 Mary. Queen, 8, 32, 69, 72.
 Mason, John, 87.
 Master of Arts habit, 110.
 Matrix, the, 7.
 Mauro, Lawrence de S., 96, 185.
 Melford, Long, 182.
 Merchant adventurers, the, 48,
 183.
 Merchants' marks, 183, 184.
 Mersh, Ann Kenwell, 75, 76.
 Merstham, 133, 138.
 Merstun, John, 162.

 Method of fixing brasses, 7.
 Middelburg, 142.
 Middlesex, 3.
 Middleton, 164.
 Milton, John, 82, 89.
 Mimms, North, 161.
 Minster, Kent, 9, 16.
 Misericorde, the, 18, 26.
 Mitre, the, 92, 93, 101, 114.
 Mitre head-dress, the, 66.
 Monastic habit, 113, 116.
 Montfort, Simon de, 12.
 Montague, Thomas, 129.
 Morse, the, 89, 91, 103.
 Mortimer's Cross, the battle of,
 32.
 Moton, the, 32.
 Mottoes, 171.
 Much Hadham, 182.

 Nébulé head-dress, the, 46, 62.
 Nelond, Thomas, 6, 113, 155,
 186.
 Newark, 58, 183.
 Neweham, 4.
 Newington, 137.
 Noke, 147.
 Noke, Thomas, 53.
 Norfolk, 3.
 Norman-French inscriptions.
 167, 169.
 Northampton, 55, 74, 161.
 Northfleet, 66.
 Northleach, 45, 48, 89, 155,
 167, 169, 170, 182.
 Northwode, Sir John de, 9.
 Norton Disney, 142.
 Norwich, 3, 132, 144, 187.
 Notary's costume, 124, 125.
 Nuffield, 44.

 Oddington, 136, 147.
 Offa, King, 121.
 Old English letters, 166.
 Ore, 44, 46, 62.
 Orle, the, 23.
 Orphrey, the, 84, 90.

- Owen, Griffith, 111.
 Oxford, 3, 71, 76, 79, 84, 87, 89, 93, 97, 100, 105, 110, 124, 132, 136, 138, 141, 147, 152, 174, 176, 186.
- Packington, Anne, 150.
 Palimpsest Brasses, 87, 140.
 Pallium, the, 92, 93, 96.
 Palmer, John, 87.
 Paris head-dress, the, 37, 71, 73, 131, 182.
 Partlet, the, 54, 70, 72, 73.
 Pastoral staff, the, 92, 98, 101, 115, 118.
 Pauldrons, the, 26, 30, 36, 40.
 Pebmarsh, 16.
 Pedimental head-dress, the, 25, 51, 69, 179.
 Penner, the, 124, 125.
 Petticoat, the embroidered, 76.
 Pileus, the, 106.
 Planché, 77.
 Plate Armour, 23.
 Poitiers, the Battle of, 19.
 Pole, Cardinal, 96.
 Poleyns, the, 12.
 Poyle, John, 26.
 Prelatte, Sir William, 29.
 Processional vestments, 86.
 Prophete, John, 90, 91.
 Puritan bonnet, the, 76, 77.
- Quethiock, 172.
- Rapier, the, 55.
 Reading, 141.
 Rede, John, 123.
 Rede, Peter, 144.
 Rendham, 160.
 Rerebraces, the, 18.
 Resurrection, the, 152.
 Reticulated head-dress, the, 62, 63.
 Richard II, 64, 125; III, 27.
 Ring, the, 92, 95, 97, 103.
- Ringstead, 85, 86.
 Ringwood, 90, 91.
 Robinson, Bishop, 100, 147, 149.
 Rochet, the, 98, 99, 100, 101.
 Rollright, Great, 86.
 Roman letters, 167.
 Roope, Nicholas, 111.
 Rotherford, 150.
 Roundels, the, 18, 23.
 Rowels, the, 18, 26.
 Royal brasses, 120.
 Rubbings, how to classify, xvi.
 Rubbings, how to take, xv.
 Ruff, the, 54, 56, 73, 75, 100, 103, 104, 111, 112.
 Ruthin, 3.
- Sabbatons, the, 32, 52.
 S. Albans, 6, 31, 32, 114, 116.
 S. Columb Major, 36, 38, 40, 74, 133, 148.
 S. Mary Cray, 2, 52, 54, 58, 74, 77, 166.
 S. Mellion, 132.
 S. Stephen, 96.
 Saints, the, 90, 116, 157.
 Salade, the, 23, 29, 30.
 Salisbury, 55, 99.
 Salters Company, the, 48, 183.
 Saltwood, 161.
 Sampson, Henry, 89.
 Sandals, the, 92, 97.
 Sawbridgeworth, 74.
 Sawtry, 63.
 Scarf, the, 99, 103, 104.
 Scoffeyld, John, 86.
 Scors, William, 48.
 Scotland, 3.
 Sellynger, Sir Thomas, 10.
 Serjeant-at-arms, 129.
 Serjeant-at-law, 125.
 Seville, 4.
 Shakespeare, William, 1, 14, 175.
 Shalston, 118, 147.
 Shepton Mallet, 162.

- Shillington, 90.
 Shoreham, 47, 48, 64, 66.
 Shorne, 161.
 Shottesbrooke, 34, 43, 45, 52,
 53, 81, 84, 129.
 Shroud Brasses, 135, 137.
 Sibson, 152.
 Silk Stockings, 55.
 Skull cap, the, 100, 105, 108.
 Sleeves, bagshape, 47.
 Smith, Jane, 175.
 Smithus, William, 111.
 Smyth, John, 170.
 Snodland, 168.
 Soissons, Council of, 79.
 Sollerets, the, 18, 22.
 Somerset, 1.
 Southacre, 92.
 Spenser, 12.
 Spurs, the, 26.
 S. S. Collar, 27, 28, 65, 124.
 Staff, the, 55.
 Stamford, 132.
 Standon, 182.
 Staple of Calais, 182.
 Stoke Dabernon, 4, 12, 16,
 138.
 Stoke-in-Teignhead, 81, 161,
 163.
 Stoke Lync, 154.
 Stoke, North, 100.
 Stole, the, 81, 83, 86, 93, 95.
 Stonor, Archbishop, 97.
 Stratford-on-Avon, 175.
 Strobe, Joan, 162.
 Suffolk, 3.
 Sun and Roses, collar of, 31.
 Surcoat, the, 11, 126, 127.
 Surplice, the, 86, 88, 102, 115.
 Surrey, 3.
 Swallowfield, 72.
 Swanton Abbot, 169.
 Swansea, 3, 154.
 Tabard, the, 178, 179, 181, 187.
 Taces, the skirt of, 19, 25, 30,
 36.
 Tame, Sir Edmund, 148.
 Taplow, 42, 44, 50, 69, 171.
 Tapul, the, 33, 37.
 Tasset armour, 34, 36, 40.
 Tenbury, 12.
 Tew, Great, 22, 27, 62, 169,
 171.
 Thame, 5, 9, 32, 52, 70, 132,
 183.
 Thruxton, 26.
 Ticehurst, 144.
 Tippet, the, 19, 87, 105, 107,
 109, 110, 117, 120.
 Toke, Nicholas, 39.
 Toledo, Council of, 78.
 Tonsure, the, 90.
 Toomer, Richard, 152.
 Towton Field, Battle of, 35.
 Tredington, 89.
 Trinity, emblems of the Holy,
 155.
 Trotton, 4, 26, 50, 64, 65, 126.
 Trumpington, 4, 8, 12, 15.
 Trumpington, Sir Roger, 12,
 17.
 Trunk hose, 36, 52, 57.
 Tuilles, the, 25, 26, 30.
 Tunic, the, 125.
 Tunicle, the, 92, 93, 95.
 Tunstall, Bishop, 8.
 Tyler, Wat, 126.
 Tylson, Thomas, 184.
 Undergraduate costume, 110.
 Urswyk, Sir Thomas, 68, 125,
 134.
 Usk, 3.
 Vambraces, the, 18.
 Vandyck costume, 75.
 Vaughan, Archbishop, 97.
 Vaux, Sir Nicholas, 32.
 Veil head-dress, the, 58, 61, 64,
 66, 77, 118, 119.
 Verden, 80.
 Vexillum, the, 95, 98, 100.
 Vintners, 48.

- Visor, the, 18, 29.
 Vowess costume, 118.
 Wadham, Nicholas and Dorothy,
 37.
 Wafer, the, 86.
 Waistcoat, the, 55, 58.
 Wake, Walter, 110.
 Wales, 3.
 Walton on the Hill, 172.
 Wandsworth, 74.
 Ware, 167.
 Warkworth, 169.
 Watchet, 148.
 Waterperry, 34, 63, 70, 144,
 145.
 Week, 159.
 Wellesbourne, wife of Francis,
 73.
 West, Edmund, 163.
 Westley Waterless, 16.
 What may be learnt from
 brasses, 8.
 Whittingham, Dean, 7.
 Whytton, John, 109.
 Wickham, East, 41, 60, 129.
 Wigs, 55, 58, 124.
 Wilmslow, 69.
 Wimbish, 19, 60.
 Wimbourne, 120.
 Wimple, the, 59, 61, 67.
 Winchester, 87, 88, 133, 141.
 Windham, John and Jane,
 148.
 Windsor, 10, 134.
 Wing, 173.
 Wingfield, 129.
 Winwick, 128, 178.
 Wisbech, 22.
 Witney, 169.
 Wittenham, Little, 134.
 Wood, Anthony, 7.
 Wotton, Nicholas, 106.
 Wybourne, Sir John, 144.
 Wykeham, William of, 97.
 Wymington, 170.
 Wyrardisbury, 133.
 Wythines, John, 103, 104.
 Wyvenhoe, 34, 35, 178, 180,
 182.
 Yarnton, 132.
 Yeoman of the Crown, 53, 129,
 130.
 Yeoman of the Guard, 129.
 Yong, John, 94, 95, 97, 166.
 Yorkish armour, 27, 29, 31.
 Ypres, 135.
 Zigzag head-dress, the, 20, 62.

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